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MAORI AND POLYNESIAN

MAORI AND POLYNESIAN

THEIR ORIGIN, HISTORY AND CULTURE

BY

J. MACMILLAN BROWN

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THE FOOTPRINTS OF PRIMITIVE MAN IN MONUMENTAL STONE 1

Paragraph (1) Written history is ephemeral. (2) Earth-preserved history lasts longer. (3) The record of man in the rocks of Java has lasted nearly a million years. (4) Palaeolithic man spans hundreds of thousands of years, neolithic man only tens of thousands. (5) Neolithic man specialised into megalithic man thousands of years ago. (6) Megalithic man started from Mauritania along the Atlantic and Baltic coasts of Europe, and crossed to Korea through the north of Central Asia. (7) From Korea he went into Micronesia; (8) thence into Samoa and Tonga. (9) In Eastern Polynesia he has left more traces. (10) Another megalithic track goes along the south of Asia into the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and Java, and there stops. (11) The northern route is fairly continuous across the Pacific into Central America and Peru. (12) It is the track of one division of mankind. (13) This division is Caucasian, not negroid or Mongoloid. (14) For it is also maritime and long-voyaging. (15) The track probably proves a line of inland seas from the Caspian to Lake Baikal. (16) A maritime and Caucasian people therefore found its way into Polynesia, and thence into America.

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art of colossal-stone architecture ceased on the introduction of iron and mortar; (6) and later peoples used the monuments for inscriptions and other purposes. (7) There are two megalithic tracks across the Old World from the Mediterranean, one southern and the other northern, (8) and it is the Caucasian medium-head that follows both. (9) It is headform that permanently marks race. (10) But in addition to the medium head, the Caucasian is generally marked by much and wavy hair, light complexion, and sea-migratoriness, as contrasted with the Mongoloid and the Negroid.

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CHAPTER IV

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Paragraph (1) The Ainos retain Caucasian hair, head, and face, but are evidently not pure Caucasian. (2) They had absorbed peoples before them, and were themselves absorbed by their Japanese conquerors. (3) The "Stone Men," a megalithic race before them, had been partly

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absorbed, partly driven into migration. (4) The coastal ring of islands to the south reveals traces of fair Caucasian immigrants. (5) In the Ladrones the race-problem is complicated, but there are striking megalithic remains. (6) In the Carolines it is still more complicated by later Malayan and Papuasian invasions. (7) Long-headed skulls were found in the megalithic tombs of Ponape, whilst the natives are medium-headed. (8) The Spaniards reported two types, a tall, aristocratic, canoe-building, megalithic race, whom they called Blancos, and a dark, short, subject race, who were probably Papuasian or Melanesian. (9) There are many megalithic graves and other remains all over Ponape. (10) They are chiefly to be found in the east and south-east islands of the group. (11) The inhabitants of these are more Polynesian than to the west, and the affinity to Polynesia increases in the Gilbert and Marshall groups. (12) In Polynesia proper the European appearance of the islanders has struck all travellers; the head-form is either long or medium. (13) In New Zealand the urukehu or red-headed Maoris indicate a cross with a blonde race. (14) Even the fairy peoples of Maori tradition had come over the ocean. (15) And the fairies are represented as fair-headed and fair-skinned like Europeans. (16) Their abhorrences reveal traits that do not belong to South Asiatics. (17) When absorbed they mellowed the fierce instincts of the Maori immigrants, (18) and taught them their arts of ornamentation, (19) the art of digging out the great single canoe, (20) and that of their spiral wood-carving. (21) The Maoris had several names for white sea-traversing races long before they saw Europeans. (22) New Zealand, as the farthest south, would be a refuge for exiles from the islands, and as of considerable size would preserve many types of aboriginals. (23) In the tropical islands a fair-haired race was known to tradition and prejudice before Europeans. (24) Father-right reigns throughout Polynesia, though mother-right is universal east and west of it; and this was an early mark of a Caucasian race. (25) This feature affiliates it with the North Pacific, whilst the matriarchate of Indonesia separates it from the patriarchate of India.

CHAPTER V

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Paragraph (1) The time of a prehistoric people is generally calculated by the layers of humus over their relics; (2) but we can also calculate it from historic movements. The

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northern great-stone route must have been blocked when the Turks and Finns migrated from the Altai Mountains. (3) On the desiccation of the central plateau of Asia the Mongoloid emigrants would first press south and east to richer lands and warmer climates ; the northern issue would be the last to be chosen. (4) The northern route from Europe to the Pacific would be open later than the southern, hence the fair and even blonde Caucasians that, being absorbed, blanched the Turks and Finns. (5) The time when it was closed will be approximately fixed by the time of southern migrations. (6) The Akkadian Mongoloids must have issued from their plateau some eight or nine thousand years before our era. (7) The northern issue was later, and the northern route to the Pacific for the megalithic people remained open later ; some of that people reached Micronesia and Polynesia without copper—in other words, some four or five thousand years before our era. (8) But some of the kurans of this people show copper in their graves. (9) But bronze, as taking the keener edge, spread more rapidly, and defines an age better, and in north-east Asia it began between three and four thousand years before our era. A bronze-weaponed people came into Japan about 1240 B.C., probably the Japanese, and drove off various aboriginal peoples, among them megalithic peoples, into Micronesia and Polynesia, and probably also into British Columbia. (10) But no migration could have taken place from Japan into Polynesia after the foundation of the Japanese empire in the seventh century before our era, else it would have taken bronze. (11) The absence of iron from pre-European Polynesia defines the backward limit of immigration into it more exactly. (12) Iron closes the Stone Age, though great forests of timber close the megalithic age earlier. (13) In Indonesia there was no copper or bronze age ; the entrance of iron into it about the beginning of our era indicates that the last expedition into Polynesia had gone through before this.

CHAPTER VI

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Paragraph (1) Migrations usually keep up a sentiment that looks to the original home. (2) In early times this tended to idealise it into a paradise. (3) The route the spirit is supposed to take after death often indicates the direction in which this lies. (4) In all Polynesia, except Hawaii and New Zealand, the spirits go west ; in these two they go north-west. (5) In them, with their large areas and mountain forests, the aboriginals would survive, and certain of their

beliefs would be adopted into the households of the newcomers from South Asia with the women, who have to do there with the dead. (6) Some of these aboriginals therefore must have come from the north. (7) Cultivated though the Japanese are, they have customs that show some affinity with the Polynesians, especially the eastern Polynesians, probably through absorption of some aboriginal element, (8) and in Japan this must have been pre-Aino; for the Ainos, though they have striking ethnological resemblances to the Maoris, that show some common racial element, differ largely from them. (9) The British Columbians differ more from the Indians over the Rockies than environment can explain. (10) They resemble far more the Polynesians ethnologically, a resemblance usually explained by similar environment. (11) The method of steam-cooking their food is peculiar to the two. (12) The natural genesis of the Maori oven is in the frost-bound north, (13) and not in the tropics, where the natives avoid disturbing the malarial humus—in New Zealand it has been found buried fourteen feet below the surface. (14) The absence of pottery from both British Columbia and Polynesia does not explain it, for they use wooden and other vessels to boil water in. (15) Nor does the custom of boiling water by throwing red-hot stones into it explain it, for the Arctic peoples have this without the steam oven. (16) Both regions tend to the patriarchate in the midst of tribes that tend to the matriarchate, and both combine polygamy with considerable respect for women; (17) chastity of married life with abortion and infanticide, and practical absence of marriage ceremony and exclusion of the women from all share in religion with reverence for some of them as seers. (18) War and its customs and methods were alike in the two regions. (19) But the resemblances that struck travellers first were that between the great houses and their luxuriance of carving, (20) and that between the great single dug-out canoes with their carved bows and sterns. (21) In New Zealand the single war-canoes of the aborigines ultimately drove out of fashion the outrigger canoe and the double canoe of the Polynesian; scantier forests prevented this in Hawaii. (22) The wave on wave of Indian race that swept over British Columbia obliterated the Caucasian features, without quite obliterating the long head or the complexion or the character of the hair. (23) The ethnological resemblances are too numerous to be due to mere similarity of environment; (24) they enter into every department of their existence. (25) The megalithic route from North Asia into Polynesia reveals the explanation in community of certain aboriginal elements. (26) Many features of Polynesian culture cannot be explained without

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assuming a racial migration from the North Pacific. (27) The megalithic route and the spirit-way of the Maoris alike point to North-east Asia.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRATIFICATION OF THE MAORI AS SEEN IN HIS CUSTOMS . 64

Paragraph (1) As immigration after immigration entered Polynesia from the north, emigration after emigration would have to sail away farther and farther south to find new homes. New Zealand is the farthest south, and was large enough to give footing to all comers. (2) It is, therefore, the palimpsest of the prehistoric history of the Pacific, revealing a marvellous tangle of customs and stages of culture. (3) There are piquant antitheses in the emotional phases of Polynesian life, some crude and primitive, others advanced and on a level with modern civilisation. (4) The attitude to slaves is an example; the Polynesians dealt humanely with them, and allowed them great freedom, yet used them as victims of all sacrifices and ceremonies. (5) The women were treated no better than slaves, being drudges and outcasts from religion and all honoured pursuits. (6) Yet they were sometimes reverenced as seers and war-leaders. (7) The combination of polygamy and female inheritance, of the romance of love and complete prematrimonial licence, can be explained only by the conquest of a primitive people, and the appropriation of their women by warriors. (8) The women alone cooked, and, like the pre-Polynesian Patupaiarehe, had no karakia or religion. The whole treatment of women is full of contradictions. (9) So, too, are their burial customs, which are perhaps the most persistent in a people's culture. The Polynesians bury and exhume the body, and then finally bury the bones, set the body adrift in a canoe, cremate it wholly or partially, mummify it, or cut off the head, and preserve it in the house. (10) These belong to different stages of culture and types of life, some to land-nomades, some to settled agriculturists, some to sea-migrants. (11) The social relationships of the people and their relationships to land show the same contradictory varieties—varieties that could not have been evolved; the village community of Aryan-speaking races is the basis, adapted to a region that has no mammals or cereals. (12) But there are also traces of the hunting and fishing stage, of the land-nomade and the sea-nomade, as well as of the agriculturist. (13) There are traces of the patriarchal stage and the clan stage, and there are germs of democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy, with a strong tinge

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of socialism. (14) Feudalism also tended to arise, and was to be seen all over Polynesia in more or less advanced stages. (15) This is the result of intermixture rather than of evolution. (16) Religion that has evolved keeps but obscure traces of its early stages. (17) Family religion and tribal religion stand side by side in Polynesia. (18) Ancestor-worship exists alongside of a priesthood. (19) The germ of a temple ranges alongside of open-air rites. (20) The fetichistic and totemistic stages of religion appear alongside that of an imageless worship. (21) The tapu system, so universal and all-embracing, is fetichistic, probably belonging to an aboriginal element. (22) Some at least of the aboriginals were without ceremonies or a priestly caste, whilst the dominance of magic came in with immigrants from South Asia. (23) These contradictions are violent, and not to be explained as developments, but as intermixtures.

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Paragraph (1) Language, lightly worn and changed as it is, is not always a safe indication of race. (2) Malayo-Polynesian is a fallacy. The Polynesian has no Malay blood in his veins, nor is his language agglutinative or Turanian; (3) it has relics of inflections like the Aryan languages; (4) it is most of all like modern English; (5) uninflectional and isolating, it is as simple in grammar as English, a language which is the result of the collision of two inflected tongues. (6) The decay of inflections has gone further than in English; but the traces that are left are distinctly Aryan in form and method. (7) Two inflected languages must have gone to the making of Polynesian. (8) This change in grammar occurred in Indonesia. (9) Neither Malay nor Malayan ever migrated or traded as far as Polynesia. (10) Two Caucasian, probably Aryan, tongues came into collision in Indonesia through the crossing of two Caucasian races; (11) and this some centuries before our era, (12) and some time before the intrusion of the Mongoloid element and the departure of the Malagasy migration. (13) The phonology that the migrants from Indonesia brought with them was reduced in range by fifty per cent. in Polynesia, a fact that shows aboriginals before them there; the vowels are constant, the consonants differ somewhat in different dialects. (14) Polynesian phonology is of the simplest, consisting of only fifteen sounds, there being only one guttural, one dental, and one labial. (15) The fulness of the vocabulary shows the advanced culture of the immi-

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grants they must have brought in abstract words ; but all that remain of them are the personified names of the cosmology. (16) The language is exceptionally figurative ; (17) but the ramifications of meaning in many words cannot be explained as metaphorical extensions. (18) The irreconcilable meanings are due to assimilation of different words through the reduction in the number of available sounds. (19) The phonology and the vocabulary thus reveal stratification. (20) The grammar indicates one Aryan stratum at least. (21) Polynesian roots consist of one or two consonants and a vowel, like Aryan roots ; (22) resemblance to those common to most Indo-European tongues. (23) Examples are "ane," to blow, (24) "us," to shine, (25) "mu," to sound, (26) "ra" or "la," to please, love, r and l being interchangeable in both Aryan and Polynesian, (27)and (28) "ra" or "la," to sound, etc. (29) Most havoc has been done in the gutturals, dentals, and labials, and the gutturals are especially elusive. (30) Yet guttural roots are common to the two types of languages ; as, for example, "kei," to reside, (31) "kok," to cook, "ko," sharp, (32) "kak," to sound, "kak," to bend, "ko," to be glad, "kar," to break, "kar," to round. (33) The roots of one half of the Maori words beginning with k and m have been found to be the same as Aryan roots, the forms being more like the European, and the considerable number of Polynesian words that are exactly the same in form and meaning as European words is probably more than coincidence. (34) The likeness between Indonesian and Polynesian words is largely due to the Sanskritic influence of immigration from India into Indonesia before our era. (35) But the likeness of the Malay vocabulary to the Polynesian is insignificant compared with the likeness of the grammar and even phonology. (36) An Aryan-speaking Caucasian race came by sea into Indonesia. (37) But Mongoloids came down the Malay Peninsula and absorbed the Caucasian Indonesians, their sea-going qualities and the grammar of their language, whilst retaining much of their own vocabulary. (38) The Polynesian migration was driven off by this intrusion.

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Paragraph (1) Both Polynesian language and genealogy point to South Asia as the origin of the last migration. (2) The Vedic race and the Polynesian cultivated abnormal powers of memory in order to hand down their traditions intact. (3) A comparison of Polynesian genealogies from groups that had no intercourse for centuries reveals much

identity in them. (4) A Rarotongan genealogy takes us back to 450 B.C., to Atia (probably India, the home of rice), later to Hawaiki (probably Java, where rice was changed for breadfruit). (5) Kura-a-amoo migrated thither about 60 B.C. (6) The change of food means intercourse with a new type of civilisation and people; but the derivation of an old geographical name is uncertain evidence. (7) Ethnology and philology are safer. (8) There are many Caucasian-like peoples in Indonesia; but these may be due to a palaeolithic or megalithic immigration. The Mentawi Islanders and the tribes in the north of Ceram are not distinguishable from Polynesians. (9) They could not have come into Indonesia by the land route; (10) they must have crossed from Ceylon to the Mentawi Islands, and thence to Ceram, the same word as Ceylon and the Rarotongan Erangi. (11) They must have come from a people long accustomed to the sea and to voyaging to Indonesia, and probably inhabiting the south of the Punjaub. (12) There are definite traditions of large migrations from that coast to Indonesia in the third century before our era. (13) Polynesian religion has no affinity to Vishnuism or Buddhism; but it has a distinct affinity and likeness to the early Vedic religion (14) before the development of Brahmanism. (15) The Vedic Aryans made for the sea, and absorbed a race of sailors. (16) Though there are some features of Polynesian culture that seem Semitic, the language has no Semitic affinities. (17) If the ancestors of the Polynesians were Semitic, they must have been absorbed by a race of Aryan speech. (18) But the clenching argument against Semitic origin is that the Polynesians have no script, (19) whilst all the Semites in South Asia had one many thousand years before our era. (20) Nor could they be from China for a similar reason. (21) The Sanskritic was the only semi-cultured race in the south of Asia that had no script. (22) The expedition or expeditions on leaving Indonesia took the median route into Polynesia, north of Ceram and New Guinea, through the New Hebrides and Fiji to Tonga and Samoa. (23) In order to explain the comparative purity of the race, we must assume that, when they rested on the way, the people at the resting-places were already largely Caucasianised. (24) The flat nose that appears amongst the Polynesians is part of their ideal of beauty, so that artificial means are taken in infancy to produce it; so, too, is the dark skin admired—hence the tattooing of the face. (25) This and the comparative infrequency of negroid features prove that Melanesianism came into Polynesia with the last-comers, who became the conquering aristocracy.

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CHAPTER X

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Paragraph (1) Fetichism, the deification of anything that comes to hand, is the first religious attitude, (2) as shown by the psychological history of the child. (3) The lesser features of nature that stir wonder raise the plane of worship a little higher. (4) Reverence and imagination are added to religion when the overwhelming processes of nature stir the emotions and thoughts. (5) The analogy of sleep and death induces ancestor-worship, and infuses personal warmth into the religious attitude. (6) Personification begins to fill out the pantheon, (7) and the personified element becomes difficult to distinguish from the deified hero. (8) The last stage is philosophy, appearing first in rationalised cosmology, and then in rationalism. (9) The co-existence of two or more of these argues racial intermixture. (10) The Polynesian religion mingles all the stages. (11) It often more closely resembles the Teutonic open-air and imageless worship than the rites of the Vedic system. (12) The megalithic habit that built the truncated pyramids of colossal stone in Eastern Polynesia and worshipped in the open air might well have come into the Pacific from the northern Aryan-speaking peoples; it is contradictory of both fetichism, the primitive stage, and image-making, a later. (13) The huge carved figures of Polynesia are not images so much as memorials of ancestors; they are, therefore, a phase of ancestor-worship. (14) The magic and witchcraft of Polynesia came from the culture of South Asia. (15) The Polynesian genealogies make little distinction between personified nature-phenomena and deified ancestors. (16) No national unity effaced ancestral deification and worship. (17) The maritime demigods and heroes of Polynesia remind the student of Greek, but still more of Scandinavian mythical voyagers. (18) It is to the cold north that much of the culture of Polynesia points, as also does that of the Aryan races. (19) In both cases the importance attached in mythology to the discovery of artificial fire, points also to the north. (20) The primitive matriarchate is manifest in the part the woman takes in Polynesian fire-making, and in the goddess rulers of the under-world. (21) The fire-bringing of Prometheus and Maui must go back to palaeolithic times; and Polynesia is the only region that retains the most ancient method, the fire-plough. (22) The fire-habits of Polynesia and the myths of Prometheus and Maui indicate a northern origin. (23) The story of Maui's noosing the sun in order to lengthen the day indicates

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migration from the north. (24) His entry into the womb of the Great Lady of Darkness goes with Greek and Teutonic descents into hell; (25) it is, like the others, a half-effaced sun-myth; and sun-myths belong properly to the north.

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Paragraph (1) Sun-worship appears at the root of many Polynesian cults, and points, as in India, to the north. (2) Rangi, the incarnation of the shining heaven, becomes important again in the colder climate of New Zealand. (3) Most of the main deities reveal in some or other group their origin as sun-gods, and some of them in their transformations exhibit singular coincidences with Teutonic deities. (4) Tangaroa in the western groups bears evidence of his having been a sun-god; but in the eastern he is dethroned, and as the representative of the fair-haired from the north, is a god of darkness, of evil and the under-world. (5) Both he and Maui evidently belong to a race that came from the north. (6) There are later fire-deities that rule the zones of heaven. (7) The worship of Ra, one of the oldest and least personified of sun-deities, survives obscurely in New Zealand. (8) He probably came in with the megalithic people, for the stone circle at Kerikeri was used in the ancient festival of Ra, the sun. (9) In the obscurer and more esoteric phases of Polynesian religion, which resemble the pre-Buddhistic thought of the Vedic system, there are traces of a tendency to monotheism. (10) Io is the oldest of the gods of the Maori aristocracy, and is addressed as supreme, and the hymns and incantations to him are not Biblical, but Vedistic; for they are chaotic and mystical. (11) There is a natural vein of mysticism and religious philosophy in the deeper Maori mind. (12) The cosmology deals in the personification of abstract ideas. (13) No likeness to the imaginative metaphysics and chaotic mysticism of Maori religious thought can be found so close as the Hindu sacred books. (14) The poetic formlessness of thought in both is drowned in dreary catalogues and genealogies. (15) Amongst the Polynesians this metaphysical tendency forms a violent contrast to the more primitive elements of their religion, and is by no means traceable to them as a development. (16) The mixture with aboriginal races in lower grades of culture can alone explain the anomaly. (17) Biblical knowledge vitiates the Polynesian myths of the deluge; (18) but has left untouched the myths of the under-world.

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(19) There is a general likeness in the ideas of the future life in most races; but the details differ, owing partly to environment, partly to racial tradition. (20) Migration and conquest both place their mark on them. (21) All these have modified the idea of the life beyond amongst the Polynesians, as amongst the Aryans, and the primeval Aryan story of the rebellion in heaven is in all important particulars the same as the Polynesian. (22) In both cases it points to the north and the long winter darkness. (23) There are varying versions of it in Polynesia, and yet its main features resemble those of the version Milton gives in his "Paradise Lost" from Aryan sources. (24) In both Aryan and Polynesian future life we have evidence of a conquest of aboriginals in the gods cast into the darkness of the under-world. (25) There are even in Polynesia some germs of an ethical element in the functions of the gods. (26) There is much vagueness and inconsistency in the Polynesian ideas of the future life; but on the whole they are unethical. (27) The Maori paradise of warriors is in heaven. (28) In Eastern Polynesia the paradise is epicurean, (29) and up in the region of the clouds. (30) The western Polynesians are not quite certain as to the locality of their paradise. (31) The uncertainty arises from the confusion between the birthlands of the race, the paradise of the aboriginals from the north and the place of soul-extinction of the immigrants from South Asia being both in Po or subterranean darkness. (32) The aboriginals had gods that were not the same as those of the Polynesian immigrants into New Zealand. (33) In the religious stratification some strata are South Asiatic and others North Aryan.

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Paragraph (1) The most striking contrast in Polynesia is in arts and industries; the most primitive have survived beside the most advanced. (2) The immigrants into it could not have used metals before they left the continent; they used stone weapons and implements. The consolidation of the Japanese empire must have stopped migration from the north, and the piracy of the Malays must have stopped it from the south. (3) The later immigrants were neolithic people; but they found a palaeolithic people already settled, using only chipped implements, flakes and round beach stones. Where the conquerors could not get greenstone or other hard stone to polish, they preferred

wood and bone for their weapons. (4) There was never any pottery in Polynesia except in Tonga, although the adjacent regions of Melanesia and Papuasia with a lower culture had it. (5) The pottery-like statuette of a Maori found in New Zealand is no proof that the Melanesians or any other pottery-making people lived there. The Fuegians and the Australians are the only other peoples that are so primitive as to have no pottery, (6) and the Polynesians are lower than even these in fire-making; they use the fire-plough, although they apply the drill to other purposes. (7) Over against this primitive culture stands the architecture of their houses and canoes, marked by fine art and great engineering skill. (8) It is the household arts that are in the palaeolithic stage; and this must be due to the women of the aboriginals filling the households of the conquerors. (9) Even in the building of the houses there is sign of the stratification of the people; there are here and there old examples in New Zealand of megalithic building, lake-dwellings and tree-dwellings. (10) Ancient pit-dwellings have also been found in two districts of New Zealand. (11) And these may have been dug and used by members of the same race as the Men of the Hollows, who came before the Ainos in Japan. (12) Such dwellings naturally belong to the cold regions of the north, as the lake-dwellings and tree-dwellings belong to the warmer zones. (13) The same striking contrast appears in their adherence to the primitive paddle, whilst building great ocean-going canoes. (14) The Morioris, even in their primitive raft-canoes, had got as far as using the paddle like an oar. But the oar could not easily be manipulated in the outrigger or double canoe that the conquerors of Polynesia brought with them or developed. (15) The large canoes, and in some groups all the canoes, were sacred, and not to be touched by women. Only in New Zealand was the large single dugout of the conquered adopted, probably because of the abandonment of far-voyaging and the predominance of inland navigation. (16) But primitive bulrush canoes or rafts were used up into the nineteenth century. (17) The canoes of the north of the North Island of New Zealand, the district of the fair-skinned Patupaiarehe, were painted black, and not red like the canoes of all other districts. (18) The primitive raft-canoes were navigated on the roughest oceans, and must have come in with bold palaeolithic sailors, who had to cross wide seas in them. (19) The Polynesians knew the stars, currents, and winds well, and even made rude maps. (20) Yet none of the knowledge was taught in the wharekura or sacred school of New Zealand. The management of canoes had become traditional and instinctive.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE POLYNESIAN TEXTILE, MILITARY, AGRICULTURAL, AND MEDICAL ARTS 161

Paragraph (1) Polynesian seacraft, even when not sacred, was out of the women's province, because it needed specialisation and long absence from home. (2) The textile art is, on the contrary, almost wholly a woman's art; it can alternate with other duties. But there was little weaving in Polynesia, for bark-cloth was easier to make. (3) The making of it was not sacred. The conquerors, if they came from an Aryan race, would bring textile and skin raiment. (4) The Polynesians came to New Zealand chiefly as makers and wearers of tapa; the men made it, but more and more seldom, till at last only chiefs wore it in their hair. They also brought the dogskin mat and cloak, and these were only for the chiefs. (5) Weaving they knew when they came, for the women had to learn it from priests with solemn rites. (6) The pre-Polynesians knew it also, as coming from the north temperate zone, the natural zone of textiles, and as knowing New Zealand flax; but the weaving-frame probably came in with the Polynesians. (7) Several other details of weaving came in with them, the making of mat-borders, the secret of the red dye, and perhaps the maceration of the flax. (8) Everything connected with fishing was sacred, and therefore aristocratic; only the men were allowed to make nets, ropes, hooks, and lines. (9) Yet the aboriginals were also a fishing race, and taught the new-comers the mesh of their nets, the barb for the hook, and the centre-piece for the eel-basket. (10) The implements and the methods of producing the textiles were extraordinarily primitive; no loom, not even a spindle or the germ of it. (11) The Maoris were more advanced than any others of the Polynesians in the arts of fortification and siege, being quite modern in their engineering. (12) Evidently the Polynesians on arriving in New Zealand had to struggle against a well-matched enemy expert in such arts and devices. (13) But the weapons all over Polynesia are exceedingly primitive, chiefly modifications of the braining instrument or club. (14) There were thrusting and piercing weapons, as amongst all primitive peoples; but they were very primitive. (15) The cutting weapons, like the adze, were seldom or never used in war. (16) But the poverty of projectile weapons is most striking; such bows as they had in Tahiti and Hawaii were not for use in war; only in later Tonga was there a war-bow in imitation of the Fijians. (17) The substitute for the bow was the much

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more primitive throwing-stick, though retrieving projectiles, including a barbed hook and a casting-net, were occasionally used. (18) Agriculture was not very advanced, the chief implement being the stepped digger; the abhorrence of animal manure, and the abandonment of patch after patch, could not have come from the intensive methods of South Asia. (19) These point to the north-east of Asia, as does also the almost complete absence of the wheel in Polynesian locomotion, industry, and art, the only form of it being the hoop. The South Asiatic immigrants must have known the wheel; but they took their art mainly from the aboriginals. (20) Had there been no great aboriginal population from the north, there is certain to have been wheeled traffic, and the wheel in art from South Asia. (21) The use of stilts in myth and in dancing points back to some birthland that was marked by plains full of shifting sand. (22) The agriculture of Polynesia belonged to both conquered and conquerors, women and men, and must have come partly from North Asia and partly from South Asia. (23) The art of medicine, as a matter of incantations, was in the hands of the men. The absence of the great epidemics of the crowded shores of the East, and the decimating effect of epidemics when once introduced into Polynesia, show that the region was quarantined for thousands of years. (24) The physician was also priest, and could inflict diseases and deal death by incantations, as he could cure the former by them too. The system of tapu was based on this priestly power over the imagination of the race. (25) The art was taught solemnly in the wharekura, a sacred building which no woman but an aged priestess could approach. (26) The elaboration of the sorcery and the predominance of man in medicine points to South Asia as the source of the art. (27) In all the arts and industries, then, though there are traces of the matriarchate, there are clearly traces of conquest by an immigrant male aristocracy.

CHAPTER XIV

POLYNESIAN ART—CARVING AND TATTOOING . . . 178

Paragraph (1) Art appears in primitive life when the arts become masculine and are specialised. (2) The art of neolithic man is not so true to nature as that of palaeolithic, because it has passed out of the hands of the free depicter of the totem into those of the priest and his satellites, and from the natural into the conventional and symbolic stage. (3) Polynesian art had reached this latter stage. (4) Carving shows it at its highest; and develops southwards

in boldness and luxuriance, in New Zealand and Easter Island; for these, as the culs-de-sac of the Pacific, had layer on layer of immigrants and their culture, New Zealand as forested adopting wood as its medium, Easter Island as bare taking stone. (5) Mangaia in the Cook group comes nearest to New Zealand in the beauty of its carved work; but it confines itself to the conventional, symbolic, and ceremonial. (6) The Maori aimed at general effect, symmetry, and variety. (7) The distinctive element in New Zealand carving is the use of the curve and the spiral; this latter in the canoe-carving is not unlike the centre frond of a tree-fern (or pitau, as both are called); but it is unlike it in being more concentric and having a double spiral; it shows no relevancy to it, and it has missed its greatest beauty in omitting the tapering stem. (8) The spiral might have been suggested by tattooing, the earlier art as giving vent to the self-decorating passion; but the rondures of the cheeks, temples, upper thighs, and arms would encourage the concentric circle, which does not originate the spiral, but comes from it as a degeneration. (9) The spirals of the finger-points, sometimes used as signatures, might have given the tattooers their model; but they are too elongated and involved to have been the models of the wood-carver. (10) Other types of tattooing in Polynesia are the old moko kuri, or dot-and-dash, and the floral and faunal of the Marquesas and Easter Island. (11) But it seems impossible for the delicate face scrollwork of the Maori to have developed out of these. Probably the aboriginals from the north had it; for Mataora, the legendary inventor of it, learns it in Po, the under-world, the paradise of the immigrants from the north. (12) Yet it is a warrior's decoration, only the married amongst women having it, and then only in order to obscure the red of the lips, which was repulsive to the dusky Polynesians. (13) In adopting the new models of their old art from the conquered, the conquerors in New Zealand must have prohibited its use by them and surrounded it with the sacredness of the old. (14) One of the purposes of the art was sexual. Amongst the Maoris it laid out its treasures on the face, though the tattooing of other parts was evidence that they had come from warmer lands, where clothing was scantier; and amongst the Polynesians some of the body tattooings seem imitations of the body coverings of colder climates. (15) The face decoration was the essential and the artistic in New Zealand, because of the preservation of the heads and the wearing of garments. (16) Though the art was surrounded with tapu, the artists might be slaves outside the pale sacredness—a proof that it came from the aboriginals. The result was greater variety and beauty than in house and canoe carving,

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there being no families to monopolise it. (17) It was the heraldic blazon of the deeds of a warrior or of his family or tribe, (18) and the primary purpose was to add to the terrifying effect of grimaces in war. But red was the favourite colour of warriors; the black or dark blue of the tattooing must therefore have come with the new art from the aboriginals.

CHAPTER XV

POLYNESIAN ART—CARVING AND DESIGN 191

Paragraph (1) The scrollwork of the house and canoe carving could not have had the same origin as that of tattooing; for in the one the human figure predominates, in the other there is no trace of it. (2) The most appropriate origin and model of the canoe scroll designs would be the forms that ropes take; they are all rope patterns, and a people seldom indicates by its metaphors the primitive origin of its customs and forms. (3) There are generally five sculptured figures in the war canoe, two definitely human figures inside as guardians, the figurehead a bird-like human form, Maui, a flattened human form under the spirals, and a taniwha (half walrus half snake) under that; the two midribs of the stern suggest the tusks of some sea animal in the process of being mastered. (4) Had these not come from the conquered aboriginals they would have each had some legend of its origin taught in the wharekura, and canoe carving differed from canoe building in having no human blood spilt at its beginning or completion. Special families on the east coast of the North Island, probably families adopted with the art from the aboriginals, monopolised it. (5) There is the same intertwisted coilwork in the carving of the barge-board and lintels of houses; but the human figure is the basis of it. (6) This figure, whether inside or outside of the house, is generally made monstrous, often with tongue thrust out of a huge double-bayed mouth; like the demons and gargoyles in mediaeval buildings, it was evidently meant to scare off evil spirits. (7) A confusion between the different racial beliefs as to the life beyond death produced fear even of ancestors in the native mind; their spirits had to be scared away as well as propitiated; the unborn were especially feared, and the heitiki or image of the embryo was worn, probably as an amulet against them. (8) The figures on carved boxes are human and true to nature; those in house carving are composite, either taniwhas or distortions of the human, many of them bird-headed. (9) The three fingers of the hand in human

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figures, always widely separated from each other, and generally with the end of a spur appearing on the other side of whatever is held by it, are probably meant to be a claw, so as to indicate the birdlike but supernatural power of the ancestral spirit to pass through the air of heaven. (10) The New Zealand carving in stone is very elementary. (11) But there have been old specimens found that seem to indicate an early racial but feeble and vanishing element that was expert in it. So the Maori myths of the making of man out of red clay seem to point to a feeble and vanished racial element that could make human figures of clay. (12) The designing on the baskets and mats is angular and poor, having none of the scroll-work of the carving; that on mat-borders evidently came from Polynesia into New Zealand; for the men produced it. Probably the lack of pottery accounts for the stiffness of the designs. (13) Rafter, cornice, and rock paintings. (14) As in all early art there is no attempt at landscape, in spite of the striking scenery and the artistic talent. (15) The extraordinary development of the conventionalised art of design in New Zealand, compared with the extreme primitiveness of much in Polynesian life, seems to demand some racial explanation; it is not Mongoloid, and cannot have come from the Japanese, but may have been from emigrants of an artistic race that the Japanese absorbed.

CHAPTER XVI

POLYNESIAN ART—DANCE, GAMES, AND MUSIC . . . 202

Paragraph (1) The culture of New Zealand is not so deeply contrasted with its mobile arts, dance and music, as with its arts of carving and design; for the progress in them from cross-breeding is more individual. (2) Yet dancing and music depend more on mass-combination in early times, music being a mere rhythmic sound to mark the harmonious movements of the limbs of regimented crowds. (3) In its origin dancing is pantomimic and religious. (4) In Polynesia it had so far conventionalised as to lose some of its pantomimic elements, and so far secularised as to be an amusement for spectators and to admit women into its performance. Yet its predominant posturing and use of the upper part of the body show the traces of the primitive mould. (5) The dances that continued to be monopolised by the men retained the early religious significance. (6) The war-dance in New Zealand retained to the last the pantomimic and religious elements that moulded it: it was sacred and monopolised by the men. (7) Most Polynesian dances show in their almost stationary character and the predominance of the body as contrasted with the legs

traces of their origin in the fight; the Malagasies and the Easter Islanders seem to reveal a reminiscence of four-footed domestic animals in the backward kick. (8) But the introduction of women and lascivious pantomime must have begun before the Maoris left Polynesia; certain muscular movements of the women are the acquisition of centuries; but this degeneration was checked in New Zealand by the persistence of war conditions. (9) The poi dance, the rhythmic swing of light balls by girls, is probably the relic of a religious rite, as so many children's games are. These latter, in a majority of cases the same as those common to Japanese and European children, bear amongst the Maoris traces of their original religious purpose. (10) Some of them, according to Maori myth, were learned in the under-world, and thus point, like so many phases of their culture, to the long-nighted winter of the north. Even the giant's stride and stilts indicate their original religious use. (11) That goddesses, according to the Maoris, originated these games indicates a history as far back as the matriarchate. (12) Knucklebone as played by Maori and Scotch children points back to palaeolithic times, and the toboggan of Maori and Hawaiian boys points to the snowy north. (13) Children are even more conservative of the relics of the past than women, and the community of Maori and European games has real historical significance. (14) The men were as conservative in New Zealand in their war-dance, and out of it evolved another masculine and pantomimic art, that of oratory. (15) The strenuous character of Maori life prevented the development of the pantomimic element into a drama; this development took place with much licentiousness amongst the luxurious eastern Polynesians. (16) The evolution of dancing was much obstructed by the short range of their music and its elementary character. (17) The drum or gong, the most primitive of musical instruments, was the commonest. (18) They had several other percussive instruments of not much more advanced type; but they preferred to make their own limbs and bodies the instruments of their percussive sounds. (19) Their wind instruments were as limited, the flutes having at most but five notes, one hand being occupied in the nose-flute in stopping one nostril. (20) This peculiar instrument came through Indonesia, but with an earlier immigration; for it was used for amatory, and not for religious purposes. (21) The trumpet was still more limited in its capacity, and was purely ceremonial. (22) A stringed instrument was used only in Nukuhiva and Hawaii, a great contrast to Malaysia and Asia taken as a whole. (23) The rarity of the bow in Polynesia and its wide use in Asia account for the contrast. (24) The

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limitations of both arts by each other and by their instruments are distinctly primeval.

CHAPTER XVII.

POLYNESIAN ART—THE LITERARY 217

Paragraph (1) It is difficult to think of literature without books; (2) but literature existed long before script, and belonged even to savage tribes. (3) It becomes true literature when, helped by music, dancing, and religion, it develops a special style and diction. (4) Prose, first throwing off these aids, deals freely with the legends. (5) Polynesian prose legends take contradictory forms therefore. (6) Thus the functions and honours of gods of the same name have often little or no relationship in the various islands, (7) for the tales of the gods and demigods were told around the fire or lamp for entertainment, and the art of legend-making about the gods was thus secularised. (8) This argues various racial elements in the audience, if not in the narrators and makers of the legends. (9) The later stories of the demigods and heroes are the product of imagination untrammelled by religious tradition; they are fairy tales. (10) They show as they get nearer to modern times an improved and often refined ethical atmosphere. (11) The incantations, belonging as they did to the lastcomers and aristocrats, retain the marks of their birthtime. (12) Chanting of them with responses has been an ancient habit of the Maoris, and has been revived in full force in the Hauhau religion. (13) They have all a recurrent phrase or sentence that in its simplicity contrasts with the frequent obscurity of the rest of the chants. (14) Women have nothing to do with either the making or the use of these, and where their influence enters the poetry is secularised. (15) Their share in the poetry, both as themes and makers, grows as we approach modern times, and a striking feature of their laments and love-songs is the predominance of lawful and married love. (16) The men's songs are as full of beautiful emotions, and are largely dirges or laments or songs of farewell. (17) The most pathetic are those that are inspired by the love of children. (18) And the love of nature, wild as well as peaceful, runs through their poetry, as it runs through the modern poetry of the West. (19) Always married to music and generally to dancing, it had no need of the external moulds of syllabic or accentual rhythm that Western poetry has considered as its first essential. (20) Prose, being early emancipated from religion, contains many of the traditions and feelings of the conquered; poetry, as always aristocratic, excludes them.

CHAPTER XVIII

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THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN POLYNESIA, AS SEEN IN HIS TRADITIONS AND RELICS 230

Paragraph (1) Maori tradition recognised aboriginals and arrivals from Polynesia before the arrival of the six canoes in the fourteenth century. (2) The Malayo-Polynesian fallacy seemed to fix the peopling of Polynesia in the thirteenth century, the time of the expansion of the Malayan power. (3) Yet observers had noticed from the first European-like features and forms in the island region that were quite unlike the Malay; occasional negroid traces led to a theory that there had been a negroid substratum. (4) The genealogies take the peopling of the region back to near the beginning of our era; (5) but some genealogies overdo their task, and induce doubt of their evidence. (6) The extraordinary development of the military art, and especially the arts of fortification and siege, imply a large and formidable enemy when the six canoes landed. (7) The few hundreds that came in them could not have increased so rapidly in a dozen or two generations. (8) The land-hunger they brought with them from the Polynesian islets remained as strong in this extensive land, and premises a large population to fight with for its possession. (9) With only their own small numbers to operate upon, it is inconceivable that slavery could have grown to such proportions or come to be so feared by the Maoris. (10) North Island legend names a considerable number of aboriginal tribes haunting the mountains and forests as fairies and supernatural beings; and even yet the Maoris fear "wild men" in the interior. (11) South Island story tells of the Ngaitahu, the Ngatimamoe, and the Waitaha being exterminated, the Waitaha in the sixteenth century; (12) of these last arriving in canoes in the eighth century and "covering the land like ants." (13) Contrary to legend, they took long to subdue and absorb Te Rapuwai, who preceded them, as their great stone-fortified pas show, and their stories of cave-robbers to be encountered. (14) Te Rapuwai themselves, arriving from the islands, drove Te Rahui Tipua into caves. (15) The Maui legend makes that hero give the land to the Kui, whom the Tutumalo annihilated or absorbed, to be treated likewise by the Turehu or fairies, a fair-haired people. Such a history must take us back thousands of generations. (16) Shell-mounds tell the same tale, huge specimens being found not only on the shore but far inland, and revealing in their strata various types of implements and

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treatment of game. (17) There is in them evidence of an edible dog, but, unlike the dog the Polynesians introduced, undomesticated. (18) All the strata show traces of the hunting of the moa, but none of cannibalism, and, according to tradition, it was during the period of Te Rapuwai, or before the eighth century, that the moa became extinct, and the forests of Otago and Canterbury were burnt, two events not unconnected. (19) But the different strata indicate that the game had been getting scarcer through the centuries or millenniums, and the Waitaha had evidently to dwell inland in pas. (20) The discovery of a Maori oven fourteen feet below the surface is surer evidence of great antiquity of human occupation. (21) So is the discovery of neolithic implements fourteen feet below the soil of an ancient forest. (22) New Zealand is the only part of Polynesia that has supplied us with such relics of a far past, because it alone has had its surface disturbed for railroading and mining purposes.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN POLYNESIA, AS SEEN IN HIS CULTURE 244

Paragraph (1) A far greater antiquity is indicated in the culture than in the legends or the relics of human occupancy. (2) But there is also a very advanced culture, implying a comparatively late migration from South Asia, but not later than the beginning of the Iron Age in Indonesia, about the commencement of our era. (3) The northern route from the Japanese Archipelago closed long before; for no copper came into Polynesia, nor did any of the epidemics of congested population. (4) The use of palaeolithic implements alone is no proof of great antiquity; for they have been used alongside of neolithic in Polynesia till recent times. (6) The practical absence of pottery goes back to palaeolithic times. (7) This and the practical absence of the bow in war prove that there was no Melanesian or Papuasian substratum; the negroid features came in with the aristocracy or last conquerors. (8) From no region bordering on the east or the west of the Pacific could a potteryless people have come since palaeolithic times. (9) The only age in which the immigrants brought their wives into Polynesia must have been the palaeolithic; for pottery is amongst primitive peoples a household art. (10) The textile art, as far as it was a household art, remained palaeolithic; for Polynesia never had a spindle for twisting the threads. (11) The fire-plough is also palaeolithic and household; but in the process the woman has the attitude of master; it must

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have come in when the matriarchate prevailed. (12) The later male immigrant expeditions substituted the patriarchate, but left the symbol of the matriarchate in the art of making fire; Polynesia is a realm of father-right. (13) Much of the food of New Zealand belongs to the omnivorous stage of palaeolithic man; the absence of cereals and domestic animals proves that the mass of the population entered in palaeolithic times. (14) The domestic fowl and the pig came in with a later migration, and went right through from Indonesia to Eastern Polynesia; the dog came earlier, for it appears all over western Polynesia; the women were not allowed to eat the flesh of these. (15) The palaeolithic households, with their elementary navigation and their natural fear of the ocean, must have had a less incontinuous land-bridge than exists now; this could not have been the rising or volcanic belt from Indonesia; it must have been the subsiding belt from the Japanese Archipelago. (16) There could have been no continuous land into the Pacific, else the continental animals would have come with man. (17) Wider breaches in the land-bridge must have isolated Polynesia with its palaeolithic people for tens of thousands of years. (18) Neolithic man, when he mastered the art of the single oceanic canoe, ventured gradually along the same northern route. (19) One of his migrations was megalithic, and one an artistic race, all probably Caucasian; the advanced food-culture came later from South Asia; the implements and methods remained palaeolithic and early neolithic. (20) The household arts continued palaeolithic, whilst the arts and the industries of the men advanced. The later expeditions therefore could not have brought their women with them. (21) But New Zealand was too far distant even in palaeolithic times to have been reached before the neolithic invention of ocean-going canoes.

CHAPTER XX

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION 256

Paragraph (1) The primary problems of Polynesia are three; the first is, whence came the fair, European-like people. (2) Crozet was nearer to the truth in thinking these were aboriginal; the negroid features, as an element in the Polynesian ideal of beauty, must have come in with the last conquerors. (3) The second problem is the origin of the many megalithic monuments; their derivation from the American coast is barred by the absence of the characteristic American foods and narcotics. (4) The third problem is the origin of the extraordinary resemblance

between British Columbian culture and Polynesian. (5) The three taken together are mutually solvent: Caucasians had reached the Pacific coast of Asia and British Columbia long before the Mongoloids were driven out of the central plateau and drawn across Behring Straits. (6) Megalithic monuments mark their path right from the Mediterranean to the Pacific, and across that ocean by Micronesia and Polynesia into Central and South America. Only in New Zealand and British Columbia did the huge timbers of the forests substitute wood for stone. (7) They also left waymarks all the way in the long head and wavy hair and often fair complexion. (8) No Mongoloid immigration obscured the Caucasian in Polynesia, the only non-Caucasian features being negroid, brought in by the last immigrants and conquerors. (9) The Malayo-Polynesian fallacy based on language made such a solution seem impossible. (10) The foundations of the Polynesian dialects are not the Mongoloid tongues, but the Aryan, coming through Indonesia, and encountering a highly primitive phonology in Polynesia. (11) The problem of problems is, however, the origin of the strangely varied web of culture in the region, a singularly advanced barbaric woof crossing a palaeolithic warp. (12) The solution lies in the distinction between the household culture and that of the men ; it is the former that is palaeolithic—which means that the only women that came in with immigrant expeditions came in palaeolithic times. (13) This implies that with the elementary navigation of palaeolithic peoples there must have been some island-bridge not nearly so incontinuous as at present from the coast of Asia into Polynesia ; this must have been the subsiding belt that runs from Japan south-east to Easter Island. (14) It could not have been continuous enough to allow of animals or plants migrating as well as man ; and the whip that goaded man on to the sea was doubtless the glacial. (15) After that immigration all communication with the continent must have been cut off for tens of thousands of years. (16) Once man began to venture into this isolated region again, he had entered the neolithic period, and learned the art of digging out huge single canoes ; with his neolithic weapons, and unhampered by the necessity of protecting his household and women, he always came as conqueror, and settling down as aristocrat left the palaeolithic women of his new household to follow their own ways. (17) The process went on for thousands of years, till he had to seek realms to conquer farther afield away to the south. New Zealand and Easter Island would be the last to be populated. (18) In all the spheres of Polynesian life there are evidences of this long infiltration of men from Asia in the variant and often contradictory

phases of the culture. (19) Much of this it would be difficult to disentangle and assign to the north and the south of Asia, especially in the language and mythology, though the legends of the spirit-world and the culture-heroes point to the north, whilst the cosmogony points to the south. (20) In the arts it is easier; for what belongs to the household and to women is ancient, and came from the north; what belongs exclusively to men is neolithic; but part of the latter is from the north, part from the south, of Asia; the huge single dugout canoe, the arts of carving and designing, the art of fortification, much of the house-building and the agriculture, and the aute or paper-mulberry tree came from the north; edible bulb-culture, the edible domestic animals, and the final healing art came from the south. (21) So did negroid features and cannibalism come in with the South Asiatic conquerors, but the former only sporadically and the latter as an intermittent habit. The pig and the domestic fowl missed some of the groups. (22) All the immigrants from the north came in by the sixth century before our era; all those from the south came in by the beginning of our era. (23) Nor did any of them come from a Semitic race, or any race that had a script several thousand years ago. (24) The methods employed in the book have been those of scientific research.

MAORI AND POLYNESIAN

CHAPTER I

THE FOOTPRINTS OF PRIMITIVE MAN IN MONUMENTAL STONE

THE RELICS OF MAN PRESERVED BY THE EARTH GIVE HIS MOST PERMANENT RECORD

(1) By history we generally mean the written annals of the races and nations of men; but that is the most ephemeral of all records. A few centuries will see the best of our books the victim of paper-destroying insect and vegetable parasites; whilst a few thousand years will accomplish the decay of the toughest parchment.

(2) We forget that there is a record of man's movements and developments far more enduring than anything he can write or print. It is the record kept by the fingers of the wind on the bosom of the earth. A city is deserted, and year in year out the sand is blown across its features, till at last it vanishes beneath a softly rounded hill. And some mounds like that of Hissarlik on the Plains of Troy sectioned by Dr. Schliemann, have been found the palimpsest or re-written record of half a dozen or more civilisations, each unconscious of the time-obliterated foot-prints of those that have gone before it.

(3) There is no historian like Mother Earth, that, with

West it passes into the British Isles. But there was no endless archipelago to tempt the handlers of giant stones westward from Europe to America, and the titanic-stone path breaks off on the Irish coast. It is otherwise in Japan. To the south stretched a series of stepping-stones into Polynesia, at first minute as in the Bonin Islands, afterwards in large groups as in the Ladrones and the Carolines farther south. And in the former of these two groups there exist avenues of huge unmortared stone pyramids topped with stone hemispheres, whilst in the latter there exist the colossal walls of a long-deserted Venice built of great basaltic prisms piled one on another without cement.

(8) Thereafter the megalithic route across the Pacific is broken and incontinuous. Not till Samoa is reached, away to the south-east, do we pick it up again, for between lay the coral groups of the Marshalls and the Gilberts, the islands of which have not the permanence of volcanic structure, but are the work of the coral insect, at the mercy of storm and billow. The Fale-o-le-fee, or House of the Fairy, behind Apia, is an ellipse of giant stone columns, no mean rival of our Stonehenge. In the Tongan group, to the south of Samoa, we have again the size and the permanency of ancient land, and here we have the gigantic truncated pyramids which are called the tombs of the Tui-Tongas, and the colossal trilithon or gateway composed of three giant stones. It is useless seeking for such ancient structures in the low coral groups like the Paumotas and the Austral Archipelago.

(9) The track is again resumed away to the east in Huahine, one of the Society group, where a dolmen or colossal stone altar exists, and in Tahiti a gigantic truncated pyramid. To the north-west, in Hawaii, are the huge temples of Waikiki and Punepa, whilst to the south and south-east we have the minute Rapa, Pitcairn, and Easter Islands, lying in somewhat the same latitude, 27° to 28° south of the Equator, the two

former separated by more than a thousand miles of ocean, the two latter by some fifteen hundred miles; and in each of them there are unmortared stone monuments. To complete the megalithic story of the Pacific, we have two specimens of this ancient type of stone structure in the North Island of New Zealand, one a miniature Stonehenge, with huge blocks standing six or seven feet above the ground, at Kerikeri, in the Bay of Islands, and another near Ateamuri, to the north of Taupo, consisting of fifty great stones set erect in the earth.

THERE IS A SOUTHERN MEGALITHIC TRACK; BUT IT WAS BY THE NORTHERN THAT THE MEGALITHIC PEOPLE ENTERED POLYNESIA

(10) But there is also a megalithic track through Southern Europe and Asia. The great stones are scattered sparsely along the countries on the northern shore of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, through Syria, Armenia and Irania, along the Persian Gulf, through Northern India, over the Khasi and Naga Hills into Burmah, thence along the Malay Peninsula into Sumatra and Java. And that island is its terminus. For, eastwards to Ponape, in the Carolines, and again across Melanesia and New Guinea to Samoa, there is a tract of from four to five thousand miles without a trace of this great stone record except in Lord North Island, about three hundred miles north-east of Gilolo. We may take it for a fact of prehistoric history that the megalithic people came the northern route from Europe and from the North Pacific into Polynesia.

(11) A striking thing about the northern megalithic track is that it does not suddenly break off at the first group of islands off shore, as it does in the west. It never crossed the Atlantic. For we find no such stone structures on

the Atlantic coast of America—none, in fact, till we nearly reach the Pacific coast, unless we count the Indian mounds in the shape of animals and the cliff-dwellings as belonging to this type of architecture. The track westward terminates in Ireland. The track eastward crosses the Pacific and reappears after an ocean interval of two thousand four hundred miles in Peru, and in Central America. There it stops, in the peninsula of Yucatan and its offshoot the Anahuac plateau in the north, and at Lake Titicaca far up the Andes, in the south.

(12) If these facts indicate anything, they indicate that a section of mankind in early neolithic times, say from ten to fifteen thousand years ago, migrated northwards from the north of Africa, along the Atlantic coast, and was stopped by the unislanded ocean from going farther west than Ireland, but that eastward it was able to find its way to the Pacific coast, and thence across it by the stepping-stones of Micronesia to the south of Japan, and of Polynesia to the south-east of that route on to the coast of Central and South America.

The Engineering Skill implied in these Megalithic Monuments indicates a Race, and that a Maritime Race—evidently the Caucasian

(13) We may also conclude that it was the same race. For a skill like this power of handling enormous slabs of stone in primitive times must have been in truth a mystery, the possession of one type of men. It is not a stage in the evolution of all races. We have none of these structures in the lands of negroids either in Central and Southern Africa, or in Australia, or in the region of the Papuans. Nor have we any of them in any purely Mongoloid region, such as China or Central Asia, or in the central and western parts

of North and South America. The only parts inhabited by Mongols, or Mongoloids, that possess them are the steppes of Western Asia, Southern Siberia, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, Japan and the Malay Peninsula, Central America and Peru. And the existence of long-headed, wavy-haired, and light-complexioned peoples in isolated parts of all these regions points to the fact that the Mongoloid layer is a later one intrusive upon Caucasian strata of humanity. Wherever, in fact, this megalithic route takes its course, we may lay it down as an axiom that the Caucasian division of mankind has appeared. In short, we may say that it is a Caucasian track across the earth.

(14) It may be accepted as a general principle that the only section of mankind that has become maritime is Caucasian; and by maritime is meant not merely venturing into boats, but setting out on long voyages is well-equipped ships. The negroes and negroids have never developed the tendency to cross oceans. The Mongols and Mongoloids are by nature land-migrants. And the only exceptions to this rule are the Japanese and Malays, and they undoubtedly absorbed, when they came to the sea-coast, a Caucasian sea-going people, and acquired their tendency and skill. The Phenicians, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, the Scandinavians, the Anglo-Saxons, the Arabs, are all Caucasian.

(15) Now, a feature of the megalithic track is that it hugs the sea-coast, except in crossing Western Asia and Northern Asia, and doubtless there was a line of inland seas from the Caspian through the Sea of Aral and Lake Baikal in primitive times, to account for the exception.

(16) Wherever, therefore, we find these colossal unmortared stone monuments, whether mounded or uncovered, whether in circles or avenues, solitary columns or truncated pyramids, we may accept it as a law that Caucasians have found their way. Of course, this leads to the singular conclusion that

one at least of the elements in the Polynesian race, including the Maoris, is Caucasian, and also that an element in Central American and Peruvian civilisation is Caucasian. When the observations and inferences of anthropology and ethnology have been considered, this conclusion will not seem strange.

CHAPTER II

THE MEANING OF THE COLOSSAL-STONE RECORD

THERE ARE EXPLANATIONS OF THE ORIGIN OF MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS THAT DIFFER IN EVERY LOCALITY

(1) AT most points along the megalithic tracks there is a local explanation of the singular monuments. Now it is the gods or the fairies who have erected them; again it is the giants. Here they are the work of a long-vanished people, like the Tchudes along the Northern Asiatic track; there they are the work of a people still existent, like the Kelts in Britain and Brittany, or the Polynesians in Tonga. Sometimes they are recognised as tombs; again they are taken as altars and temples; in one place they are for marking the seasons, in another they commemorate some event in history; at Ateamuri, in New Zealand, one tribe take them as memorials of a cannibal feast in which fifty chiefs of a hostile tribe were eaten; the other tribe tell the same story, but interchange the banqueters and the banquet. There is no limit to what imagination can do with such a mystery to explain. The mythmaking faculty could not rest in presence of such striking memorials of the past.

THE GENESIS OF A SPECIAL HOUSE SET APART FOR THE DEAD IS THE BELIEF IN THE AFTER EXISTENCE OF THE SPIRIT

(2) We may reject as fiction most of these local legends unless they assign these great stone remains to the neolithic

people, who early developed the desire and art of preserving their dead. They are in their origin mortuary monuments; not memorials, but houses of the dead, whatever other purpose they may afterwards have served. Even the cave-dwellers of the European Palaeolithic or chipped-stone age must have, like most primitive peoples, believed in the existence after death, and in some vague connection between the departed spirit and the body that remained. They must have feared the power of the dead to retaliate for neglect, and ultimately come to worship their kin who had passed away. Hence the ancestor-worship which is at the root of all primitive religions, if not of all religions. As soon as this reverence and fear of the dead became rooted, the place where the death occurred came to have attached to it a certain awe, and ultimately sacredness. It was set apart as the peculiar possession of the departed spirit where he could visit his body when he chose. In the West, and especially around the Mediterranean, caves are known to have been the primitive dwelling-places of palaeolithic man, if not of neolithic. And, as the sacredness of the dead and of the place of death grew, the practice would arise of abandoning the cave to those who died in it. And in order to secure the remains from the attacks of wild beasts, the mouth would be built up, only to be opened when some other of the kin had to be deposited therein. Hence it is that in the Western world at least caves have been the open book of the palaeolithic anthropologist. In them he finds the skulls and bones, the weapons and implements of early stone man.

Caves were the First Dwelling-places of Man, and the First Artificial Houses of the Dead are Imitations of Caves; hence the Mounds and Megalithic Structures

(3) But in some countries the supply of natural caves is limited, as is also the opportunity of making artificial caves,

though in a less degree. Yet to preserve the bodies of the dead kin would be the primary duty of primitive man. If he did not make provision for their preservation for all time, how could he avoid the revengeful visits of their spirits? He set himself, therefore, to manufacture caves, even where there were no steep hillsides to build against. He chiselled out by long and patient toil, with his imperfect flint tools, aided by fire and water, great blocks of undressed stone, blocks such as he had been accustomed to close the mouths of caves with, or build up artificial caves with against precipitous faces. And he dragged these out far into the open heaths and plateaus on which he lived. He made inclined planes of earth, and drawing the huge monoliths up the slope tilted them over the steep sides into the holes in the earth which were prepared for them. Having made his giant circle or ellipse, his rectangle or square of these titanic blocks, he dragged over them other broad slabs to form a roof. Then he covered the chamber completely with earth. And here he could lay his dead and feel that they were safe for all time. The mouth of his chamber he narrowed to a low gallery or aperture which could be easily closed, and, when this was covered with earth on which the grass grew, no beast could approach the sacred remains to mutilate them, no enemy could find the secret of the entrance. He could leave his revered dead within their artificial hill and wander away over the face of the earth feeling that they were secure. But, lest he himself should forget the secret approach, he erected a stone column in front of it or placed at a certain angle two or three columns, or made an avenue of colossal stones leading to it, or surrounded the mound with a circle of stones, leaving a gap opposite the entrance. In some cases the mound disappeared under "Time's effacing fingers," and the great chamber or the colossal stones alone remained. And at last progressive man learned to build the stone sepulchre without the enveloping earth, or

to make his stone chamber beneath the surface of the earth and raise only a monolith or circle or avenue of stone columns above it. And here again the anthropologist has found his undecaying library of the old Stone Ages.

As Houses of the Dead they became Houses of Worship or Altars

(4) Another development of this sacred monument was to use it as an altar or temple. The offerings to the dead had usually been placed within the chamber beside the remains. But it was natural that offerings should be placed upon the tomb as well. Hence what are called dolmens or table-like megalithic erections. But the most elaborate combination of altar and tomb is the truncated pyramid, which appears in places so far apart on the route as Manchuria, Java, the valley of the Yalu, Tonga, Tahiti, Peru, and Central America. Wherever the colossal monolith was likely to be unstable, either from the tropical rains and the friable nature of the soil or from the frequency of earthquakes, it was natural for the megalithic people to get height by raising pyramids with sides terraced into steps. And when the ancestor-worship developed the idea of sacrifices it was natural to leave the pyramid unpointed so that on the flat or truncated top the offerings and sacrifices might be laid. Those of Egypt belong to historical times, although some thousands of years before our era; but they were meant to be memorials of individual monarchs; they were therefore pointed, and were not intended as altars or temples. It is different with those in the East, in Polynesia, and on the Pacific coast of America. They are all truncated, and those of Polynesia and America, even down to historical or quasi-historical times, were used as altars. In Mauritania the step-pyramid is found, as all the

other types of colossal stone structures are found: the dolmen, the avenue, and the circle, the underground chamber barrow with horizontal or vertical monolith, and the gateway like the trilithon of Tonga and the carved stone door near Lake Titicaca on the Andes.

The Use of Iron Tools and Mortar closed the Megalithic Era in a Locality

(5) Here and there the art of hewing and erecting these enormous stones has been preserved to our own time, or close to our own time. But it is always in isolation, whither the echo of the march of civilisation cannot reach, far amongst the mountains, as in the Khasi Hills in Assam, or in solitary islands of the Pacific like Easter Island, where it is conjectured by some that the making of the colossal busts was continued up till about the eighteenth century. At most points on the route the art has been lost in prehistoric times, probably in neolithic times before either bronze or iron tools were thought of. It is not unlikely that the discovery of the metals and of mortar led to its abandonment. With the fine edge that the new implements would take, men could afford to cut smaller and more manageable blocks, and graves as well as houses could be more easily built without the aid of multitudes of workmen. When there were no wheeled vehicles or draught animals, these megalithic structures meant vast masses of labour disciplined like slaves to drag the great stones long distances and to set them erect in the earth. For some of them weigh between three and four hundred tons, and stand fifty or sixty feet above the ground. And most of them are at least several tons in weight and a dozen feet in height.

It is the Medium Head of the Caucasian that follows these Routes

(8) We need have no hesitation in saying that Caucasian migrations from Europe many thousands of years ago found their way into Micronesia and Polynesia, and thence to the Pacific coast of South and Central America, before the Mongol division of mankind had begun to feel the pressure of population from the gradual rise of the Central Asiatic plateau, or to move outwards west, north, and east. We may also say without hesitation that they were neither black nor yellow. Doubtless they were of the olive complexion that prevails about the Mediterranean, though it is not unlikely that the fair-haired and blue-eyed type was already evolved in Northern Europe and around the Baltic Sea and the German Ocean, and that some of them may have been of this type. That these neolithic migrants were moderately long-headed like the Mediterranean peoples and the North-European of to-day has been ascertained from the skulls found in the chambers of many of these colossal monuments. It is the same medium head we find all over Polynesia, though the colour has deepened.

The Head-form marks off Races best. In the Caucasian it is Medium, in the Negroid Long, in the Mongoloid Short. But the Caucasian is also generally Much-haired, Wavy-haired, Light-complexioned, and Maritime

(9) The most constant mark of a race is the shape of the head. On that chiefly do anthropologists rely for the differentiation of sections of mankind. It is this that has enabled them to overturn the old idea that the Jew is the purest type of man in the world. Though his face-form does not vary much, his head-form varies almost with every nation in which

he is found. There is no distinctive Jewish head, although the features are ever recognisable. It is the feminine imagination of the race that keeps the ideal face true through hundreds of generations; as a rule, if left to itself, it will accept in marriage only the humanity that comes nearest to that. But the head-form is not the subject of amorous choice, concealed as it is beneath hair, and in most circumstances hat. It is one of the last results of anthropology, therefore, to prove that the Jew has always mingled with the people amongst whom he is settled.

(10) Now, though through the mountainous centre of Europe there is a wedge of broad-headed people, the general mark of the Caucasian and European is the moderately long head. That mountaineering race doubtless came in from the East, and, like the Finns and Magyars and even the Turks, have taken on European features and fair skin, whilst they have retained the head-form they brought with them. The negro, it is true, has also a long head. But his cast of features marks him off from the Caucasian not only in the living face, but in the skull when he is dead; the latter has in the average plenty of hair both on face and head, and that generally wavy, light-complexion, small cheekbones that never project laterally, narrow straight nose, and lips full and well-shaped. Wherever we find the long head with most of these characteristics, we may be sure that we have come across a people that has Caucasian elements in it. If they are also maritime and long-voyaging, there is little doubt that we have a true mark of Mediterranean origin. Some peoples have become continental and unmaritime, even though they are largely Caucasianised. This is due sometimes to their absorption by a continental people, sometimes to their being driven far inland, sometimes, if they live on the coast, to the lack of timber for building sea-going boats, sometimes to the complete lack of sheltered havens on the coast which they inhabit.

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CHAPTER III

EUROPEAN-LIKE RACES ON THE COLOSSAL-STONE ROUTE

The Breeding-places of the Mongol and the Negro

(1) It is commonly accepted as a maxim that Asia and America are the domain of the Mongol and the Mongoloid, as Africa is the domain of the Negro. But, like most generalisations, it is conditioned by serious exceptions. Arabia and Asia Minor are altogether Semitic, and the Semites are Caucasians; whilst the discovery last century that Sanskrit, the original and basis of so many new Hindu dialects, and Persian are cousins to Greek and English has gradually claimed all Southern Asia east of the Euphrates and north of the Persian Gulf for the same division of mankind.

(2) But it is becoming no less clear that the west and east and north of Asia were at one time also Caucasian; and thus nothing but the central plateau of Asia, before its gradual desiccation and elevation beyond the zone of temperature that affords sustenance to vast numbers, is left as the true and original domain of the Mongoloid. Bastioned by mountains, and at first surrounded by seas, it served for thousands of years as an isolated area for the production of that special type, as the Indo-African Continent that the Indian Geological Survey think stretched in late Tertiary times across the Indian Ocean served to breed the Negro. As this bridge sank and India and Indonesia united with Asia, three isolated areas, trans-Saharan Africa, Papuasia, and

Australia evolved three negroid varieties with traces of a primeval dwarf negroid, the Negritto.

(3) The negroid we may conclude has always remained *in situ*; he has never become a migrant, and never mastered the art of navigation. It was only comparatively late in the history of mankind that the Mongoloid broke from his bastioned plateau, and still later that in two instances he became maritime; not, in fact, till late neolithic times did he venture out of his domain or approach the sea. And nothing can account for the movement but the growing impossibility of finding food for his masses in his birthplace.

The Caucasians the Migratory Division of Mankind

(4) It is different with the Caucasian. Climatic changes or earth-movements must have early forced upon him the migratory habit. He is probably, with his tall frame, long head, and hair elliptical in section, a primeval offshoot of the African Negro, isolated from his original by some such fence as the growing desiccation of the Sahara. And his first breeding-ground was the region around the Mediterranean, which was in Tertiary and early Quaternary times bridged in three places, Gibraltar, across Sicily, and across the Isles of Greece.

(5) In North Africa and Southern Europe the prevailing type is an olive-complexioned, dark-haired variety of the long-head. But there is liberally sprinkled not only on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, but amongst the Berbers of North Africa, a blue-eyed and fair-haired long-head. And the large numbers of this type are not to be accounted for merely by the intrusion of the Goths and Vandals into the Mediterranean region during the late Roman Empire. Long before the Goth, long before the Roman, appeared on the scene, there is evidence of a light-complexioned race

around the Mediterranean. On the Egyptian temples of fifteen centuries before our era there is figured a people with red cheeks, blue eyes, and red or light hair; and this is called Libyan or North African. Nay, Professor Flinders Petrie describes the "new race" whose remains he discovered near Abydos, in Egypt, some ten years ago, as "very tall and powerful, with strong features, a hooked nose, long pointed beard, and brown wavy hair, closely akin to the allied races of the Libyans and the Amorites"; and the graves out of which the remains came are five thousand years old. And away to the west, in the Canary Islands, one type of Guanche that has been found among the human remains, in their caves, is tall, long-headed, and light in complexion, eyes and hair. No wonder that the Kabyles, the Highlanders of Algeria, are in many cases fair-complexioned and blonde-haired, and that the Berbers of North Morocco are often fair, blue-eyed, and yellow-bearded, whilst down into the Sahara many of the Tuaregs are of the same type.

The Evolution of the Northern Blonde and his Appearance in the South

(6) It is more than likely that this blonde Caucasian was evolved in a region more dominated by winter and its snows than by summer. The blanching of the epidermis was doubtless due primarily to the reduction in vitality produced in the extremities and the outer layer by excessive cold, where tallowy or oily foods did not, as in the Esquimaux and the Fuegians, keep the liver and the adjacent pigment-forming organs abnormally large; this at least is the primary cause of the white winter plumage or fur of Arctic animals that change their coats with the season; later the selection of evironment may have aided; but, with the humans, sex-

ual selection must have been ultimately all-powerful, once the majority of them had taken on the blonde appearance.

(7) That so many of this type should have found their way so far south as North Africa, we may take it for granted, is due to some natural compelling cause, such as climatic change. Now, the most striking change in climate was that produced by the great ice-sheet that twice, at least, crept far southwards over Europe and twice receded. During the advance of the glaciation, Northern Europe must have been difficult for man to live in, and great migrations southwards resulted. To these are doubtless due the interminglings of blonde and brunette long-heads in the region of the Mediterranean, and to the last advance, perhaps, also the short-statured broad-head of North Africa being much the same as the Alpine round-head that came in from the East along the mountains of Central Europe. To the glacial stimulus advancing and receding is also doubtless owing the migratory nature of the Caucasian, whilst his early development of maritime capacity has natural causation in the island seas round which he was bred.

A Wave of Dark-haired Caucasians overflowed Southern Asia and Australia in the Old Stone Age

(8) Even in the old stone age, more than a hundred thousand years ago, he found his way into Southern Asia, into India and Ceylon, the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and Indonesia. For the greater part of the population of India had been Caucasianised long before the Sanskrit-speakers arrived, most of the primitive negroids and the late mongoloid migrations having been absorbed. And in the Veddahs of the hill region of Ceylon we have a waif left of the ancient palaeolithic wave that swept ever the coasts of the East, and overflowed into Indonesia, Papuasia and Australia. The

plentiful wavy hair, long head, and largely European features to be found amongst the peoples of those parts indicate a Caucasian element. And that it entered into them in palaeolithic times, when it used only rude chipped weapons and could not yet migrate over broad seas, is evident from the palaeolithic and unmaritime culture of the Australians and the hill-Veddahs. It is not unlikely that much of the Caucasianism of the pre-Mongol element in the north and the east of Asia is also palaeolithic. The absence of the blonde type from the Australians and the palaeolithic peoples of Southern Asia may be due to the predominance of the original element in them; but it is more likely that this primeval palaeolithic wave eastwards from the Mediterranean was due to the intrusion of the blondes driven before the advancing ice-sheet, and consisted solely of the brunettes that that wave displaced.

In the Caucasian Migrations into Southern Asia during the New Stone age Blondes Appear

(9) The neolithic migrations into Asia, many thousands of years ago, undoubtedly included many of the blonde type. On the southern route some of them might have come from North Africa; on the northern route they would be drawn from their original home, North Europe. On the coast of Syria the Amorites are said to have been of the red or blonde type. And though all Irania, which covers not only modern Persia, but Afghanistan and Beluchistan, had the round head of the European Alpine type as its primary stratum of population, this was overlaid at least in the east by a blonde type that spoke Aryan dialects, the cousins of English. Away on the slopes of the Hindu Kush and on the Pamir plateau the tall blonde is not uncommon, with ruddy cheeks, brown, blue, or grey eyes, and full beard of light, wavy or curly hair. And

down in the south-east of Asia, in Burmah and Indo-China and Southern China we again encounter people that have often the oval face and the regular European features, and not infrequently the fair skin, as, for example, the Kakhyens about the head-streams of the Irawadi, the Kiu-tse of Annam and the Man-tse of Southern China.

(10) It is this Southern Caucasian wave that, when it reached Indonesia, took to the sea again and carried its language and maritime habits to Madagascar, and down through the Malay Archipelago; it had probably absorbed much negroid blood before it was itself absorbed by the mongoloid wave that swept down the peninsula, and that became, with the new elements that modified it, the Malay.

But the Caucasian Blondes are more Predominant along the Northern Route

(11) But it is on the northern route that there is most evidence of the lighter Caucasian strain. The light colour and European features of the Turks and the Finns is not due merely to their absorbing Europeans in later times in Europe. At the beginning of our era the Finnish tribes had not yet reached Finland, but dwelt east of the Gulf of Finland, whilst it is only in recent historical times that the Turks invaded Europe. Long before either of these races reached the Ural Mountains or the Caspian Sea they had grown light in colour and often blue-eyed, in short had become Caucasianised. They are, therefore, classed as a separate division of the Mongoloids, as the Ural-Altai division. The Turks, though in their original home the Altai Mountains, about the head-waters of the Yenesei, as much influenced in appearance by the blonde Caucasians as their neighbours the Finns were, have become more brunette in their progress south-westwards

through contact with the darker type of the Caucasians. But the Finn has become as blonde and blue-eyed as the Scandinavian, in spite of his round Mongol head and his Turanian language. The steppes between the Central Asiatic plateau and the Urals were evidently in prehistoric times as full of Caucasians, and those chiefly blonde Caucasians, as the steppes of Russia were. And it was by their gradual absorption that the Turks and Finns on their progress westward have become so European in appearance whilst retaining the Mongol head.

(12) Farther east, too, on the boundary between Siberia and Mongolia, to the south and east of Lake Baikal, relics of a long-headed race have been found, skulls which differ completely from the round heads of the Mongols now universal there. The absence of European features amongst this people now means that the long-heads were driven out by their Mongol conquerors. In Manchuria, on the contrary, the Dauri, who live on the Amur, alongside the Manchus, have a strong intermixture of Caucasian blood; they are tall, oval-faced, regular-featured, narrow-cheeked, large-nosed, and brown-haired. And when we get to Korea, we find the upper classes and many in the south marked by the light eyes, large nose, fair skin, full beard, brown hair, and tall stature of the North European. And in the early Chinese records there are numerous references to white tribes, with whom the emperors had to deal. The Wusuns, a nation in Central Mongolia, are oftenest spoken of, and they are described in the annals of the Han dynasty as a tall, fair race, with red hair and green eyes. Against them, amongst others, the Great Wall was erected early in the second century before our era. They were driven westwards, first into Dzungaria on the boundary between Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan, and finally into the basin of the Tarim River to the east of the Thian Shan Mountains.

(13) Thus have we brought our Caucasians in two places to the shores of the Pacific in neolithic as well as in palaeolithic times; and on the northern route at least many of them are of the blue-eyed, blonde type of Northern Europe. Was the ocean an obstruction they could not master?

CHAPTER IV

TRACES OF EUROPEAN-LIKE PEOPLES IN THE PACIFIC

The Ainos

(1) At the sea terminus of the Northern megalithic route there is a strikingly Caucasian people, the Ainos. Their features are exceptionally like the normal European, their faces oval, their eyes brown or greenish, deep set under fine brows, their nose large and straight with fine nostrils, their black, brown, or fair hair wavy and abundant on both head and face. The portraits of the men in their long, loose mantles, with their flowing hair and beard, and their fine intellectual faces, might be taken for those of ancient Druids. And yet from the low average stature and the varying head-form it is manifest that they have crossed with other races, probably Mongoloid. The Caucasian face-form has been preserved by the ideal of the race acting on sexual selection, whilst the head has been changed by the intermixture from the primeval long shape into frequent round and intermediate. De Quatrefages says of them that they are a race "fundamentally fair and long-headed, more or less changed by other ethnical elements." Batchelor, in "*The* Ainu and their Folk-lore," says, "Their skin, like that of Europeans, is whiter by nature than that of their Japanese neighbours."

(2) This originally fair Caucasian race, according to their own traditions, once covered the whole Japanese Archipelago; wherever the gods of the sea looked, "there echoed the sound

of the Ainu speech." And the annals of the Japanese tell what a long and fierce struggle they had to subdue the hairy aborigines even with superior weapons. War has gradually reduced them to some twenty thousand. And it is clear that the conquerors absorbed them rather than annihilated them in the southern islands; for they, in contrast to their Chinese cousins, "strip white." The Ainos in their turn had conquered and probably absorbed a race, whom they call the "People of the Hollows," that held the islands before them.

An Earlier Caucasian People before the Ainos

(3) But these people of the half-underground dwellings were evidently not the first inhabitants of the archipelago. For neither they nor the Ainos that absorbed them had megalithic burial habits; the latter bury in the ground and plant an oar on the grave. And there are all over Japan great burial mounds that, like those of Siberia and Europe, cover colossal stone chambers or galleries. Now the Japanese in their annals speak of subduing the "Stone Men." And these are doubtless the megalithic race that, when the "People of the Hollows," and after them the Ainos, crossed from the continent, went off in their canoes southwards over the stepping-stones of island-groups, and carried their colossal art into Polynesia; and that must have been four or five thousand years ago.

Great Mixture of Peoples in the Islands to the South

(4) Caucasian they must have been, and those of them that remained behind must have contributed to the European appearance of the Ainos. In the Loochoo Islands, Formosa, and the Philippines, which form the coastal stepping-stones, there are traces of light-complexioned peoples found even in

the intricate confusion of races that inhabit the last two. A fair-skinned tribe of dwellers in trees has been only recently reported in the inland forest of the Philippines.

(5) But this ring of islands is too close to Asia to keep any race unmixed. It is somewhat the same with the Ladrone and Caroline groups, even though they are at a much greater distance from the Asiatic coast. The inhabitants of the former found by the Spaniards are nearly extinct. But fair complexions are spoken of amongst them, and the women are preferred by the traders as wives to the Caroline Islanders because of their fair skin and comparatively European features. And yet the Spaniards used to introduce the Caroline Islanders as slaves, so that some islands of the southern group were left almost depopulated, and had to be recolonised from the Ladrones, and room was left for armed immigrations from north, south, and west. The race problem, therefore, is now extremely complicated. But the great stone avenues in so many of the northern group, the colossal stone ruins of a city on Tinian described by Anson as extending over three miles of plain, and the inscriptions in caves reported by the Jesuit Fathers reveal the existence in ancient times of an advanced megalithic people.

(6) The racial problem in the Carolines is even more confused, though the dialects have still much of the Polynesian in their vocabularies, and many Polynesian customs prevail in this, the main group of what is called Micronesia. There are said to be not only Malayan and Indonesian strata, but Papuasian. And tradition tells of a conquering migration from the south under a black leader called Idzikolkol, who overthrew the dynasty of the colossal stone Venice in Ponape and set up a new one in its place.

(7) Kubary found four skulls in a mortuary vault of the water-city, and these displayed the extreme of long-headedness, whilst the existing natives are nearly midway between long-

headed and round-headed. Of course, in these tropical lands, with their rank vegetation and active bacterial life no very ancient relics of man are likely to be found except stone and metal, the bones as well as the flesh so rapidly decay. Hence, if we cannot find traces of primitive peoples in the existing features and heads, we are not likely to find them in the graves. And where, as in the Carolines, wave after wave of immigration has flooded island after island, the problem of the primeval inhabitants becomes difficult of solution.

The Spaniards found the Islanders of the Ladrones and Carolines mixed, but seem to indicate a Fair Race in the Blancos

(8) Even the Spaniards found on them very varied types of men. On the low coral islands were savages, whom they called Barbados and Pintados. On the high volcanic islands there were people marked by their tall stature, great strength, and fine intelligence, whom they call variously Hombres, Blancos, and Chamorros. The upper classes had huge canoes for far-voyaging, and sheltered in houses that, like their dwellings, stood on tall stone pillars. They honoured sea-craft and ship-building above all other arts, and forbade the subject peoples learning anything of navigation. Their stage of culture was not unlike that of the Maoris when first seen by Europeans. But they had skill in pottery, an art that never belonged to the Polynesians; they learnt it probably from their subject peoples; for, dark and short, these were doubtless Melanesians, a race that were, as a rule, acquainted with the art. Their government was patriarchal like the Polynesian, but they had no kings. And they had a more intense stone-culture than that people, reverencing as they did the foundation-stones and the stone pillars of their houses, and burying their dead in huge stone vaults with great ceremony, and

with long watching over them by the light of fires and lamps kept constantly burning. The dark subject race let their dead decay, then scraped the bones, and kept them in baskets in their houses. The name Blancos or Whites applied to the nobles seems to indicate that a fair race from the north, probably the megalithic race, had amalgamated with a dark Caucasian race from the west, probably from Indonesia.

The Route of the Megalithic People was along the East of the Carolines

(9) The chief thing to guide us in this group is the megalithic habit of the early inhabitants. There are huge mounds in Ponape at least that are, though unexcavated, clearly ancient burial-places; they are called by the natives giants' graves. There are, also, old tombs in enclosures inland called the graves of the little people. There are, in addition to these, colossal stone tables and pillared galleries and megalithic ruins all over the island. And the natives have, like those of all the larger forested islands of Micronesia and Polynesia, a great fear of penetrating into the forests or mountains, lest they should encounter the fairies, a clear sign that the remnant of a conquered people took refuge in these more inaccessible haunts and preyed on any of their conquerors that ventured far from their coast centres.

(10) It is the colossal buildings that have been most investigated. And one feature of these is that they are all on the eastern and south-eastern islands of the group, the parts that lie nearest to Polynesia, an indication of the route of the megalithic people from the north-west into the Central Pacific. Had they been on the western islands as well, then the route might have been from Indonesia, though a gap of two or three thousand miles would have intervened between the terminus of the southern track and the Carolines.

In the colossal stone tombs of the south-east of Ponape, Mr. F. W. Christian found the human remains disintegrated, but unearthed shell ornaments and implements, one piece of obsidian and one piece of iron. This last shows Malay or Indonesian intercourse; but it does not go far back, else we should have had frequent finds of metal implements and weapons in the tombs. The Polynesian culture is the fundamental in the east and south-east of the group. In the west the Indonesian element has more dominance.

(11) The natives of the Gilbert and Marshall groups are still more Polynesian in their appearance and habits. These archipelagoes have evidently not only been stepping-stones for the megalithic people, on their passage from the north-west into Polynesia, but, in spite of their prevailing coralline structure, and the meagre sustenance they afford, they have had frequent Polynesian refluxes, and are, as a rule, thickly populated.

Clear Evidence of a Fair Race having been Absorbed by the Polynesians

(12) But it is in Polynesia proper that most evidences of a primeval fair race have been gathered. Taken as a whole the islanders of this region have a singularly European appearance. What struck all the early voyagers was the fine faces and regular features of most of the islanders, and some of them broke into raptures over the beauty of the women and the stalwart grace of the men. They constitute one of the tallest races in the world. Their hair is generally abundant, and generally wavy, never kinky, like the hair of the negroids, and never rank and coarse, like that of the mongoloids and they can unlike these two divisions of

mankind, have, if they wish, plenty of hair on the face. The colour of it is generally dark, and amongst many of them a certain proportion of the children have brown hair, which changes into black only at full maturity. The complexion is, as a rule, brown, but it is very often olive, and no darker than that of the Southern Italians; and colour is as much a matter of climate and food as of race. Dr. Hamy, the French anthropologist, finds from new measurements that "in the east, north, and south they present a long-headedness very pronounced." Other observers incline to place them amongst the medium-headed men, neither very round nor very long. But the skulls that the Americans took out of the burial platforms of Easter Island are in appearance decidedly long.

(13) There are even cases of a cross with a blonde Caucasian race amongst the Maoris, and especially amongst the Ureweras, who have seen little of Europeans till lately; the urukehu, or red-headed, families and individuals are not infrequent, and the red-head is generally accepted as an indication of a cross between a blonde and brunette race, whilst it is acknowledged that this tribe, not long after arriving in the Matatua canoe, passed inland to the highlands round Lake Waikaremoana, and, struggling with the inhabitants of the mountain and forest land, ultimately amalgamated with them. In that other long-isolated district, the King Country, near the harbour of Kawhia, there are many of these rufous people, and, at the same time, the tribes there speak of their ancestors, the immigrants of the Tainui canoe, amalgamating with the aboriginals, the Ngatimokotorea. And they say that in the fore part of the Tainui a fairy woman called Te Peri had command. The aboriginals of the Ureweras are called by them the Toi; and Mr. Elsdon Best quotes a Maori description of this primitive people as peaceful and good, a contrast to the restless warriors that had come in amongst them from Polynesia.

THE FAIRY PEOPLES OF MAORI LEGEND ARE ALL EUROPEAN-LIKE, AND IN ALL COUNTRIES FAIRIES ARE THE DEFEATED ABORIGINES

(14) A significant substitution by the Ureweras, when the urukehu are mentioned, is the word Turehu, which is used by the Maoris as almost interchangeable with Patupaiarehe in the sense of a fairy or beneficent supernatural being. The Turehu are also represented as an aboriginal people absorbed by the Polynesian immigrants forty generations, or about a thousand years, ago. They had come, according to White's "Ancient History of the Maori," "from the other side of the ocean," and conquered the Tutu-mai-ao, who had before them conquered the Kui, the people that got the land from Maui, when he fished it out of the sea.

(15) Now, all the fairies are described as fair-headed and fair-skinned, like Europeans. They are, in fact, nothing more than some of the people who occupied New Zealand, when the Polynesians arrived in their canoes, with a halo of romance thrown round them by the mystery of their forest and mountain life after being driven back from the coasts. In the beautiful legend of Kahukura, this Maori sees them fishing in the moonlight, and, mingling with them, learns the secret of their net-meshing, which is the same as that of the Swiss lake-dwellers; but when daylight comes they recognise in him an alien, and flee, leaving their nets and boats. He has to be represented as a very fair-skinned Maori, in order to escape detection. If they had differed from him in stature or in supernatural appearance, they would not have needed the dawn to reveal the difference. Their ways were evidently those of men driven to follow their old sea pursuits only at night, and fleeing to the mountains and the forests at daybreak to escape the fierce intruders who had landed on their shores.

(16) And there is something very human in many of the other traits attributed to these Patupaiarehe by Maori legend. They run away with the wife of a Maori, and he rescues her from them by painting her with red ochre (kokowai), giving cooked food, and using incantations (karakias). Their fear of cooked food, doubtless, means that they steamed their own food, and abhorred the South Asiatic method of boiling or roasting at an open fire, introduced by the Polynesians. Their abhorrence of kokowai shows that they hated the sanguinary look that it gave the Maori warrior, and preferred their own fair skins unpainted. And the absence of karakias indicates that their religion was free from the magic and sorcery and symbolic rites of South Asiatic peoples. This all points to a North Pacific, and primarily North European, origin for these fair-haired, fair-skinned aborigines.

They Taught the Polynesian Immigrants Gentler Ways of Life

(17) Though they are always spoken of as the good people, they are said to have had the power of smothering men, which means that their raids on the settlements of the immigrants were at night when people slept. And it is this method of retaliation, along with their mysterious appearances and disappearances in the forest and their art of ambushing, that threw such a supernatural halo round them, and made the Maoris fear the bush and the mountains inland. It was something out of the common for these feeble folk to make such fierce warriors timid, especially as the legends represent them as merry and cheerful, and always singing like the cricket. The mystery around them probably saved them from annihilation; and their absorption by the immigrants probably explains the improvement manifest in later Maori legend. The earlier stories of the migration from Polynesia

are full of cunning and cruelty and coarseness. Many of the later are touched with the spirit of gentleness, humanity, and romantic chivalry. The change of country and scenery and climate could never account for this new moral and emotional development. Nothing could but amalgamation with a gentler and more peaceful race.

They Taught the Polynesian Immigrants Various Arts

(18) And the legends seem to show that this has something to do with the marvellous new development of the primitive arts in New Zealand. Te Kanawa, a Maori chief, came across the fairies on the top of a mountain; and in his fear he put out all his greenstone and sharkstooth ornaments as a peace-offering to them; but they only took the form of them, and vanished, leaving the originals untouched. The story shows how they were as fond of ornaments and as capable of making them as the Maoris, and that they did not work greenstone.

(19) Another set of forest fairies, the Hakuturi, had especial skill in woodcraft, and the making of canoes out of tree-trunks. In the legend of Rata they level a tree and dig out a canoe for him as by magic. It seems to mean that it was the forest-haunting aborigines that taught the immigrants from Polynesia how to make the great single dug-out canoe instead of the double canoe and the outrigger canoe to which they had been accustomed. And these Hakuturi are described as white also.

(20) Rata got the canoe in order to go against another set of aboriginals, a sea-haunting set, the Ponaturi, who had slain his father and were using his bones in incantations. An earlier version of his story is placed in the heroic or semi-divine stage of Maori mythology. Tawhaki, the Prometheus of the race, has to recover his father's bones from the Ponaturi, who live

by night in a house beneath the sea; whilst a later version rids it of all the supernatural, and makes a chief, Ruapupuke, whose boy was drowned, go down to the house of these sea-haunting people, burn their great carved house, recover his son's body from its use as an image on the ridge-pole, and bring up the carved work in order to teach the Maoris the art. This seems to show that some of the pre-Polynesians resisted the immigrants, keeping to their sea haunts and maritime pursuits, and ultimately taught them their new spiral wood-carving. And these are often alluded to as Patupaiarehe, and therefore light skinned.

(21) Other ancient names that the Maoris have for a white man are Waraki and Maitai. But the commonest is pakeha. For their tradition told them of gods who lived on the sea, who were fair in complexion, and were called Pakehapakeha.

(22) It is natural to think that New Zealand, because of its size and its position as a cul-de-sac for Pacific sea-migrants from the north, should have most evidences of the primitive and pre-Polynesian races. Its forests and mountains would give them shelter for ages. In the smaller islands of the South Seas they would be more easily exterminated. But even there there are evidences in the people and their traditions of a white race having stood out against the South Asiatic conquerors, and of having been absorbed, too. All over the islands the early navigators were struck with the European features and the light complexion of many of the natives.

Traces of a Fair-haired Race in the Other Groups

(23) And, according to Dr. Wyatt Gill, a golden-haired child in Mangaia is called "the fair-haired progeny of Tangaroa," the great god of the sea, who himself was sandy-haired, and, having been driven out from the island, lived

in distant lands with his fair-haired children. The Mangaians dislike light hair, and think it suitable only to foreigners. All through the islands dark hair and complexion are looked on as the sign of strength. Clearly a fair-haired race was driven out of many, if not all, of the islands, and took to the sea again; whilst the conquering immigrants were all of brown skin and dark hair. The massacre of Captain Cook reveals the same tradition in the Sandwich Islands. Because of his white skin and his great ship, he seemed to fulfil their old prediction that the god Rono would return again from Tahiti, and he was accorded divine honours, and was sacrificed that he might ever remain a god.

Polynesia with its Father-right Divides the Mother-right of Melanesia and Papuasia from the Mother-right of America, and affiliates with the North Pacific

(24) But the illustration of the theme would lead us too far. It only remains to point out one indication from sociology that would go far to prove the advance of a Caucasian migration into the world of Polynesia from the north. It is the strange phenomenon, noticed by Ratzel in his "History of Mankind," that between the mother-right of social organisation all through Australia, Melanesia, and Papuasia, and to some extent Indonesia on the west, and all through America on the east, there is thrust the wedge of Micronesia and Polynesia with a totally different social system, that of father-right. The one makes the children follow the mother, and possess property through the mother, an essentially primitive stage of the family, developing perhaps out of promiscuity after the idea of property and rights had evolved. The couvade, or lying-in of the father instead of the mother on the birth of a child, is an effort towards the evolution of the father-right from the

mother-right. For the patriarchate or headship of the father in the family, so familiar to the European mind as to seem almost the only natural or existing social system, is a late development amongst all races but the Caucasian and the nomad tribes of the Mongols. It means the law of chastity in married life, so that the true heir may be known, and hence the hedging round of the family as the true social unit, and of the hearth as the sacred centre of life; and, when amalgamation into tribes occurs, the chiefship passes from father to oldest son. It implies the régime of primogeniture.

(25) Now Polynesia as the realm of the patriarchate, or father-headship, divides the matriarchate of America from that of Melanesia and Papuasia. And through Micronesia it affiliates to the patriarchate of the Aino social system. Between it and India, another realm of the patriarchate, there intervenes an unbroken realm of matriarchate. In bringing our Polynesians wholly from South Asia and its social organisation, we have to make a leap. In bringing them from the Japanese Archipelago, we have no break in the continuity of the father-right.

CHAPTER V

WHEN DID THE CAUCASIANS MIGRATE INTO THE PACIFIC; AND WHEN WAS THE PACIFIC CLOSED

(1) THE usual method of fixing the period of some prehistoric people or movement is to find the relics of it in the earth, and to calculate the layers of humus above them. Thus the age of the people of the Danish shell-mounds was roughly defined, and thus the times of the Swiss lake-dwellers.

PREHISTORIC MOVEMENTS OF CAUCASIANS AND MONGOLS, AND THEIR CAUSES

(2) But another method can be applied to the East, and especially to the Pacific, and that is the method of inference from historical movements to prehistoric. If, for example, we can fix approximately the period when the Mongols began to migrate out of the central Asiatic plateau, we can define the time after which no great Caucasian migration could have made its way across the Northern great-stone route to the Pacific Period. As soon as the Turks and Finns began to move away from the head-waters of the Yenesei and the Irtish into the steppes on the Asiatic side of the Ural Mountains, the way was barred from Europe to the East; it was no longer an open route for the megalithic peoples from the west or south-west.

(3) It had been a migration road for displaced Mediterranean peoples during tens of thousands of years, in fact during

early palaeolithic times, and the retreat of the mammoth into sub-arctic regions; for the rude palaeolithic chipped weapons of man have been found alongside the remains of this huge animal in Southern Siberia. It became a high-road when one of the advances, probably the last, of the ice-sheet in the glacial age had begun to relax its grip on southern lands. The peoples driven by the northern blondes from the Mediterranean would naturally crowd the southern route to the East, as long as the glacial cold made the northern part of Central Asia uninhabitable. But as it receded they would find a way to the north-east, either along the north or the south of the Black Sea. It is not unlikely that at first an inland sea or inland seas filled the depression to the south of the Urals, and stretched far to the north and the east. But this would make, instead of an obstacle to these originally maritime peoples, an easier route and an inducement for them to pioneer in their boats till they struck the mountains again. But, as the sea dried up, and the central plateau rose and grew less inhabitable, the route from the south-west would close first; for the Mongols would press down primarily into the richer and more habitable lands to the east, south, and south-west. The pressure of population on the narrowing means of sustenance up on the Mongol plateau would be relieved earliest on its southern boundaries. And hence the primitive Mongol elements in India and Indo-China, and the Akkadian and Hittite empires in the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, and near the coast of the Mediterranean. These latter, along with the nomade people in the steppes to the north-east, would make the migration of the Mediterranean races east and north-east difficult, if not impossible.

(4) The northern route, when once it was opened after the final recession of the ice-sheet, would remain open much

later. The northern Mongols would be the last to move north-east, north, and north-west, because of the lack of rich countries and tribes to tempt them. Hence the evidences of blue-eyed peoples all along the north of Central Asia to the Pacific, and the rapid blanching of the Turks and the Finns by the conquest and absorption of Caucasians as they moved westwards. But these blonde Caucasians must have been an upper layer superimposed upon a darker stratum of longheads, and must have migrated eastwards in comparatively recent times, only a few hundreds or thousands of years before the Turki-Finn movement.

(5) If then we can fix approximately the period when one of the southern or eastern Mongol migrations took place, we may fix approximately, too, the time when the northern route was finally closed to Europeans.

An Ancient Mongoloid Empire in Mesopotamia

(6) Now the ancient race that we know most of is the Akkadian, whose cuneiform inscriptions were unearthed on the site of Babylon during the latter half of the nineteenth century; their decipherment has thrown a flood of light on prehistoric times. And it is generally agreed that their civilisation was in full bloom in Mesopotamia between five and six thousand years before our era; and their development of writing, literature, science, and art at that early period implies at least a thousand years of preparation for such a climax; whilst in their religion these Akkadians looked to the highlands on the north-east, "the Father of Countries," and "the abode of the gods" as the paradise to which their spirits would return. In these mountains they must have been settled as a people for at least another thousand years and mingled with the Caucasian drift from the Mediterranean; for

the paradise of a primitive people is the home of their forefathers; and the busts of these Akkadians that have been unearthed show not only the flattened face and high cheek-bones that mark the Mongol, but, long before the Semites from the south mingled with them, the wavy hair and often the full eyes of the Caucasian. They, in fact, illustrate the law of cross-breeding, that it evolves the new competitive types that ever go to produce a new advance in civilisation.

Copper Defines the Time Vaguely

(7) It is not improbable that the Mongols were beginning to move west and south nearly ten thousand years before our era. Their eastern movement into China may not have been long after. But their northward migrations must have been considerably later; the northern route remained open longer for the megalithic peoples from the West; for some of them reached the Pacific without copper, and afterwards, when forced off the coasts, reached Polynesia without any trace of that metal. And the age of copper in Northern Asia goes back four or five thousand years before our era; it was early there, because the Ural-Altai region was one of the great sources of the primitive world's copper.

(8) But copper, next to the precious metals, is the most uncertain for defining a period. The tools or weapons made out of it are soft, and turn before the task of cutting or hewing. They are not to be compared for efficiency to the flint or obsidian knives and axes of the stone period. Primitive man did not seize on it with avidity. A copper age exists with any definiteness only in a few regions, and even there has but vague limits. But before the megalithic drift eastwards had stopped on the northern route, that metal had come into use; for it is found in the kurgans or mound-graves

of the Tchudes, that mythical people to whom the Northern Mongols attribute everything they cannot explain the origin of.

Bronze Defines Time Better

(9) Bronze is different. It is as ornamental as copper, and it takes a much keener edge. It was sought after more eagerly by the neighbours of those primitive civilisations that discovered it. Many an experiment must have been made before an alloy could be found to remedy the defects of copper. But, when found, it spread rapidly amongst civilised peoples, so that we find the bronze ages over the Old World much nearer being contemporaneous in their beginnings. That of the north-east and east of Asia seems to have started in the fourth millennium before our era. And, according to a vague tradition, there came into the South Island of Japan about 1240 B.C. a cultured race with finely formed weapons of bronze, as well as of stone, and drove the Ainos north. The legendary founder of the Japanese empire, Jimmu Tenno, is placed only in the seventh century before our era. But the gradual migration from Korea and the struggle with the aborigines must have gone on for many centuries before the evolution of such a political unity. Their bronze and beautiful stone weapons must have given them a great superiority over those whom they call in their annals Ebisu or barbarians, a name that stands for the "hairy Ainu," and over those primitive peoples who built the huge burial mounds, and the People of the Hollows, who lived in dwellings half underground. It is not improbable that this may date the beginning of one of the sea-migrations of the megalithic people down into the islands of the Pacific. If so, they did not profit by the weapons of their enemies, for no bronze has ever been found in these islands, except a Tamil ship-bell in New

Zealand. Of course, the pressure of the Mongols from behind must have begun long before this; must have begun, in fact, when they started north-east towards Behring Straits and found their way into America during some temporary elevation of the temperature in the North Pacific. Evidence for this is found in the fact that the Ainos once occupied the coast of Korea and Manchuria, and were driven into the archipelago. And when they crossed they must have displaced the earlier aborigines of Japan that their traditions speak of. But the greatest impulse to migration over the sea, both north and south, must have come when the Mongols arrived and took to founding an empire. The millennium just before our era doubtless saw vast transferences of the megalithic people in ocean-going canoes into the island-world to the south, and of smaller migrations north along the Kurile and Aleutian groups into British Columbia in coast-hugging canoes.

(10) Of one thing we may be sure, that migration into Polynesia ceased from Japan at the foundation of the empire in the south of it during the seventh century before our era. Else bronze weapons and tools and ornaments would have gone with the emigrants into the new lands.

Iron gives the Most Definite Time

(11) A still stronger proof of the final closing of Polynesia to the peoples of the north-east of Asia is the complete absence of iron from that island-region. When the Polynesians realised what a sharp edge the new metal introduced by the Europeans would take, they seized on it with avidity. They would give their dearest possessions for a hatchet, or even a piece of hoop-iron or a nail. It is this passion for iron that makes the beginning of its age all over the Old World so nearly contemporaneous. Its use spread with extraordinary rapidity through Europe, Asia, and Africa. And we may say roughly

that its age has its backward limit in the earlier part of the millennium before our era.

(12) It is this metal that, when introduced into a region, finally closes its stone age. The sharpest and hardest of stone tools and weapons, even obsidian and greenstone, are not to be compared with it in incisive efficiency. The tribe equipped with iron weapons soon masters the users of stone spear-heads. The iron hatchet gives them their houses and canoes in a fraction of the time and with half the trouble that the old stone axe gave them. And, if timber abounds on the continent, the wooden house takes the place of the mound house or the stone house, and, if on the coast or on the islands, the canoe becomes universal. The beginning of the iron age in any country is also the close of its megalithic age. For iron tools so quicken the process of stone-cutting that people can afford the time to quarry small blocks that do not need vast masses of labour to move them. The stone tomb raised by a single family takes the place of that which needed a whole tribe or nation to manipulate it. And timber, now so easily cut, takes the place of stone in most burial monuments. In the Pacific the colossal-stone-building habit continued except where forests abounded, as in New Zealand and the old volcanic islands; and there the canoe and its carving taught the people to use timber for their dwellings and tombs. Obsidian and greenstone tools made the cutting of wood more rapid than the old flint or basalt.

Not Since our Era has there been any Immigration Into Polynesia

(13) The absence of iron from Polynesia would seem to have closed it to all immigration for nearly three thousand years. But this conflicts with the traditions and genealogies of the islands. For, if the latter are to be trusted in chrono-

logy, there seems to have been a drift into them from Indonesia about the beginning of our era. But the contradiction is removed when we remember that the iron age did not start in that region till about the same period, and that it followed there straight on the stone age, as in trans-Saharan Africa. The words in Malay for copper and bronze are all of Sanskrit origin; and these two metals were brought into the Malay Archipelago by the Buddhists from India when they established their empire and built their colossal temples in Java. Iron took the place, not of copper or bronze, but of stone, and that it never came farther east than the west of New Guinea till the Europeans arrived, shows the fallacy of the idea that the Malays ever mastered Polynesia by their influence, language, or customs, or had ever had even a trade route into it. Whatever there is in common between the Polynesian dialects and the Malay (and there is much) is due to the absorption of primitive elements in Indonesia. Language is never a safe test of race or origin. Had the Malays ever ventured as traders or conquerors into Polynesia, iron would have come with them. Its complete absence proves that there was neither immigration nor trade route into that island-world from the coasts of Asia during our era, and none from the eastern coasts for at least a thousand years before it. Had even chance metal weapons or tools found their way into the islands we should have seen them cherished as amulets or objects of worship.

CHAPTER VI

THE NORTH PACIFIC AND THE POLYNESIANS

PARADISES

(1) HOMESICKNESS is a feature even of modern emigrants, especially if the home has been left too far off for frequent returns. Though it becomes fainter with years and new development, the actual migrants never lose it. And amongst the posterity legend and story keep the new country linked with the old sentiment.

(2) The more primitive the people the less is the emotion blanched by other phases of life, and in earlier ages of mankind it must have prevented any but slow and gradual migration, long distances from the starting-point being achieved only in centuries. And when distance intervened and return became impossible, imagination gradually omitted all the offensive features of the homeland and enhaloed it. Religion took it up thus idealised, and made it the paradise of the race, whither all its finer spirits were permitted to return at death.

THE POLYNESIAN SPIRIT-ROAD

(3) It is often, then, an indication of the route the primitive emigrants took if the souls of their dead make in a definite direction when they depart to their underworld. The name of the paradise or spirit-home might even, if not too mutilated or transformed by passage through the generations

or by contact with peoples who speak other tongues, indicate one starting-point of the migration. Thus Bulotu, one name for the paradise of the Northern Polynesians, has led to innumerable speculations, some identifying it with a Persian Gulf locality, others with Celebes. Hawaiki, the more common name of the Polynesian paradise, has been still more fertile of speculation, as in some of the islands it is the name of the original or birth-land, and it has been applied to other islands on the route.

(4) There is one feature of the spirit-route, however, in which all the central groups of Polynesia agree; and that is in the direction. They all fix their spirit-leaping-off-place on the western-most point of the group. The soul, when it leaves the body, has there to leap into the sea, and thence take its way back to the home of the race. But there are two significant exceptions in Polynesia. The Hawaiian group in the north and New Zealand in the south send the spirits of their dead away on their shadowy journey in a north-west direction. Mr. Percy Smith explains this with regard to the southern country as correct orientation of the route, when the canoes had sailed so far away to the south-west. But this will not apply to the Sandwich Islands. Their Polynesian migration reached them from the south, and the leaping-off place should therefore have been oriented to the south instead of the north-west.

(5) There is no escaping the conclusion that this is a sign of migration from the north into Polynesia. There are the two largest land areas in the region. Each of them has as much superficies as nearly all the other Polynesian groups put together, and their mountains and forests would give easy shelter to defeated tribes. In the other islands extermination, or at least obliteration, of the original inhabitants would be no very lengthy process. In the Hawaiian group and in New Zealand the small number of the immigrants

and the extensive and intricate refuges inland would extend it over centuries, and mean in the end absorption often on a basis not unlike alliance. And, though the aristocracy would be at first mainly of the new-comers, and the genealogies of the old inhabitants would vanish, many of the aboriginal beliefs and ways of life would be adopted. The mere introduction of the women into almost every household of the immigrants would ensure this. And it was the women that had chiefly to do with death and the dead. The warriors and the men in general were polluted by touching the corpse.

(6) Hence the spirit-route in New Zealand, as in Hawaii, is that of the pre-Polynesian inhabitants. The spirits of the coast-dwelling Maoris do not take the shortest route to the Spirit's Leap, near Cape Maria Van Diemen. They make for the nearest mountain ridge, and then travel along it from south to north till they reach the final point of spirit-departure. And so afraid are the natives of the northward passage of the spirits of their dead that they build their kumara-stores and their important houses facing north lest the travelling souls should cross them and so taint or destroy their sacred contents by the contamination of death. The Chatham Islanders also sent the spirits of their dead in a north-westerly direction, and, though this is a minute group, it is explained by the fact that, according to tradition, they had mingled with the aborigines of New Zealand before they left its shores, and, having absorbed the natives of their new home in a peaceful way, they had always loved peace.

Japan and Polynesia

(7) Thus the colossal-stone route, and the spirit-route of the largest groups, those on the extreme north and those on the extreme south, both point the same way to the Japanese

Archipelago. In a cultivated people like the Japanese we are not likely to find much that shows kinship with so primitive a people as the Polynesians, unless perhaps faint traces in the minuter folklore of the less educated Japanese. And the Ainos and the People of the Hollows, whom they subdued, come between their predecessors, the megalithic people, and them. Yet there are some affinities that might have arisen from early contact or intercourse. The elaborate tattooing of birds, beasts, fishes, plants, and monsters all over the body in the Eastern groups of Polynesia, especially in the Marquesas, approaches nearer to the Japanese art than any other method of tattooing in the world, and both in their origin, like most tattooing, have something of the religious. It is the same with the keeping of domestic fowls in both regions; the perch is found beside every Shinto temple in Japan, and there was a religious element in the favourite sport of Tahiti, cockfighting, and in the elaborate stone fowl-houses on Easter Island. Football, wrestling, and archery were of equal importance in Japan and Tahiti, and were engaged in as parts of religious festivals. And the korotangi, a stone bird beautifully carved, and almost worshipped by the Maoris, leads the mind to Japan.

(8) But it is useless seeking for affinities between peoples so widely separated in race and culture. And, though the Ainos are of the same division of mankind as the Polynesians and they are in much the same stage of culture, they can show few ethnological likenesses; for the former are separated from the megalithic people, that the Polynesians absorbed, by the People of the Hollows. They have been modified too much by intercourse with their conquerors, the Japanese, to retain many of the affinities that they might have had. Unlike the Polynesians, they are users of the bow, makers of pottery, weave cloth from bark-threads, and have long had metal implements and dishes. Yet some of their

ical resemblances to the Maoris are striking; for , the women produce and cook the food, make the nd do everything but war, fishing, and house and uilding; they are excluded from all religious rites, allowed to woo and propose, and they tattoo the re marriage. Both peoples think that the child ts spirit from the father, and fear to use the name ef or of a deceased husband; they have a rude musical instrument in the shape of a Jew's harp; they fear to let the hair that is cut get into the hands of an enemy lest he employ it in witchcraft, and generally they believe in the efficacy of sorcery; in agriculture they avoid the use of manure, and they abandon a plot after culture for one or two years. The basis of their social economy is the village community with headship partly elective, and the basis of their religion is the worship of the ancestral spirit, with a belief in an after-world that is underground, although the great original gods dwell in the heavens period. There is here sufficient to show that in primeval times the ancestry of some element in the two races had ethnological connection or proximity.

The North-west Coast of America and Polynesia

(9) But the North Pacific on its American side shows most affinities with Polynesia. In the lacework of islands and fiords that frets the coast of British Columbia there live tribes that, though Americanised in their faces, are as different in ethnology from the American Indian as in appearance from the Polynesian. The Thlinkeets in the north, the Nootkas in the south about Vancouver Island, and the Haidahs between differ somewhat from each other; but they differ still more from the Indians on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. The characteristics of the country

they live in have much to do with the difference; instead of broad prairies to roam and hunt over, they have but a strip of forest between the mountains and the sea, and therefore they live on the margin of it and in their canoes. There are no such intense extremes of cold and heat as to the east of the Rocky Mountains; the tropical currents that brush the western fringe of the continent raise and equalise the temperature. And the sea gives a never-failing supply of food. But this does not explain all the difference. There are differences of beliefs, social customs, folklore, and developments of art that might as well belong to dwellers on plains margined by forests and ironbound by winter. In their legends and folklore they are much more like the Ainos on the opposite Asiatic coast and the Micronesians farther south; the resemblance has been worked out by Boas.

(10) But what has struck observers is the general ethnological resemblance between these British Columbians and the Polynesians. Most of them are puzzled by it; and a few account for it on the principle of similar conditions acting similarly on the human mind. It is, in fact, generally quoted as the crucial instance to demolish the ethnological maxim that likeness of ways of life argues unity of origin or at least primitive proximity of origin.

The Polynesian Steam-oven is North Temperate or Sub-Arctic in Origin

(11) But there is community in features of the life that is not to be rejected so lightly. To take one instance, the method of steaming food that is universal in Polynesia is as common on the coast of North-west America, whilst all around both regions there is little or no trace of it. In Melanesia it is used in one or two groups; but this can be proved to be due

to infiltration from Polynesia. In Papuasia, Indonesia, and all along the south of Asia there is nothing to be found like it. None of the tribes over the Rocky Mountains, and none of the Esquimaux to the north have it It is also true that the Ainos do not use it; but we have seen reason to believe that they were not first in the Japanese Archipelago, and have been greatly influenced in their habits of life by their conquerors and the materials and vessels that they supplied.

(12) The natural genesis of the custom is easily explained in British Columbia, and especially amongst the Thlinkeets on the borders of Alaska. A fire kindled and kept up in the deeply frost-bound earth would suggest it. As the soil melts and the water escapes from it in steam, it sinks, and ultimately the fireplace becomes a hole in the ground lined with red-hot stones; if, when the smoke disappears and the fire dies down, a covering is placed over the mouth of the hole, there is at once a cooking-place like the Maori oven.

(13) It is not so easy to explain its origin in a tropical region like Polynesia. There the open fire would be the natural method of cooking; there would be no excessive accumulation of heat, and the fuel could be scattered and the flame extinguished rapidly. The principle of the steam-oven is that the heated stones keep their heat for long periods, and this would be offensive in the neighbourhood of dwellings in the tropics. Moreover, the natives of luxuriant forest regions of the torrid zone avoid, wherever they can, digging holes in the rich humus. Experience has taught them that the practice leads to disease and death. They never live like the dwellers in frost-bound regions, half underground, but prefer to raise their houses on stone or wooden piles so that the air may circulate freely underneath the floor. And here we may note that there are ancient groups of hollows in the ground in several parts of New Zealand, as, for example, in the Marlborough Sounds, and near Lake Manapouri in Otago, that

seem to be the remains of half-underground dwellings, and the Maoris often have their open fire in a hole in the floor of their whares. That the pre-Polynesians in New Zealand had used steam-ovens is evident by their having been found as much as fourteen feet below the surface of the soil, as, for example, on the Manuherikia Plains in Central Otago.

Pottery, Steam Cooking, and Stone Lamps

(14) Nor does the absence of pottery vessels account for the method of steam cooking, although this is a feature of both the regions that employ it, Polynesia and the British Columbian coast. The Ainos still, even when they have iron, make cooking-pots of cherry-tree bark, which boil their meat well and last many times hung over a slow fire. And the natives of the North-west American coast use wooden vessels and even wicker baskets to boil their food in by means of hot stones placed in the water. So the Maoris got the oil out of the titoki berries by putting them bruised into a wooden pot with water and hot stones. And the method of roasting and broiling food at an open fire was no uncommon thing with them. But the introduction of the European iron pot has in both regions, as amongst the Ainos, driven out the more primitive methods of cooking, which retained in the meat the juices and the best sustaining elements, instead of bleaching them out. The natural indolence of man prefers the method that economises time and trouble to that which saves the digestion and at the same time the essence and flavour of the food.

(15) Nor is there any essential connection between steam cooking and the boiling of water by throwing hot stones into a vessel or into a hollow in the rock. Else the Esquimaux and almost all Arctic peoples would not only use the latter as they do, but the former. The vapour or steam bath produced

by placing hot stones in water is universal around the Arctic circle, as it is amongst the British Columbians and the Maoris. But steam cooking is confined to the two latter, whilst cooking over a lamp is the Esquimaux and Aleutian method. Without the stone lamp the Arctic peoples would never have been able to subsist or spread. It is found amongst the natives of the North-west coast of America and amongst the Maoris; but its use is confined to lighting purposes, the readiness with which they can procure firewood and get to the earth even in winter making other methods of cooking easy. Besides the stone lamp and a number of traits and habits that belong to many primitive peoples, the Maoris have in common with the Esquimaux salutation by the rubbing of noses.

Affinity of Polynesian and Columbian Social Systems

(16) But resemblances must go much deeper before we can assume any primeval community or proximity of race. It is in the social and political system first of all that we must search for kinship. In a country whose whole method of existence is based on mother-right we have two great divisions of these British Columbians with a strong patriarchal tendency. The Thlinkeets in the north, though exogamous or inclining to choose wives from another division of the race, pass on their hereditary nobility through the males. The Nootkas towards the south tend to the patriarchate, though there are traces of mother-right; the chiefship is hereditary by the male line. And though, as in Polynesia, polygamy prevails in both tribes amongst the well-to-do, the women have great influence. The Haidahs, between the two, follow the American practice of the matriarchate; their rank is nominally hereditary, chiefly by the female line, and the chieftainship often passes to a woman. But, as all along the coast and as in Polynesia, there is a certain democratic electiveness about all their

honours, depending on skill and feats in war and practical life.

(17) The tribes are independent in both regions; but the village community rules the social life; hence the great houses in which all the families of the village pass most of their life, in winter at least. In both regions the women prepare the fish and game for winter use, manufacture cloth and clothing, and increase the stock of food and cook it, whilst the men make the houses, boats, and implements, snare birds, catch fish, and engage in war. Women have nothing to do with religion, and yet they are much respected by the men, and some of them are looked up to as seers and sorceresses; in married life before the advent of the whites they were chaste; yet in order to limit the families, abortion and infanticide were not uncommon; they had to bring forth their children in a place away from the household, as they were considered unclean; the marriage ceremony was very slight, although all other occasions in life were surrounded with solemn rites, and divorce was easy.

(18) War was one of the main functions of social co-ordination; for war was the outcome of vendetta, and supplied the slaves that were so essential to the primitive warrior and the primitive household. When prisoners were not suitable for slaves, they were generally slaughtered; nor were they ever tortured by the Maoris or the British Columbians, in spite of the likeness of the latter to the American Indians; nor were they ever scalped; their heads were cut off as war trophies, as in Polynesia. The methods of warfare were much the same in the two regions; the warriors alike preferred ambush and stratagem to open fighting. And hence they were in both regions masters in the art of choosing an impregnable position for their villages and of fortifying it; they placed them on some cliff overhanging a river or the sea, and carefully guarded the approaches to it by stockades and entrenchments.

Houses, Canoes, and Carving in Polynesia and North-west America

(19) And here we touch on one of the most striking resemblances between the cultures of the two regions. The Haidahs and the Nootkas, though they follow the American Indians in the construction of their summer dwellings, making them lodges of poles covered with skins or mats, build their permanent and winter houses more like the Maoris; these are rectangular, with huge ridge-pole and sloping roof, grotesquely carved wall-posts and central pillars, side-planks tied together, the entrance at one end, as a rule the only exit for the smoke of the fire, which is generally in a hole in the centre of the floor, and the floor covered with mats, on which the residents squat by day and sleep by night. But the feature that impressed most early travellers in the North Pacific was the luxuriance of the carving, resembling, and yet surpassing that of the Maoris in elaboration. The inner walls are covered with fantastic human figures, and so, too, are posts in front of or between them, the figures being crowded from top to bottom, so that the features and the limbs are broadened or distorted out of the human. The same luxuriance of carving is seen on all their weapons and implements and utensils. But in the north this is executed not merely in wood, but frequently in stone; the Maori prefers wood, although his ear and neck ornaments are carved in the hardest of all stones, jade, and ancient carved steatite vessels have been found in New Zealand. In Polynesia proper, the carving is feebler and less artistic than in British Columbia or New Zealand. The result is that, even though in the lace-like arabesque of some of their carved work the Maoris surpass all but the most advanced artistic nations, the general level of Polynesian carving is held to be lower than that of the Haidahs and Nootkas, who revel in repro-

ducing grotesquely the figures of men and animals. In human sculpture they and the Maoris are about equal. They delight in broad distortions of the features and the limbs, as if they looked at men through an uneven magnifying glass. There is nothing exact or true in their sculpture, though they both attempt to give realism to the eyes by the use of discs of gleaming haliotis shell. And the use of the eye, not only in the human figure, but in other ornamentation, is a common feature of both regions.

(20) But it is on their canoes that they lavish their finest and most elaborate carving, especially on the prows and the sterns, which are in both regions raised into an upstanding curved post. There is generally the outline of some monstrous figure, either animal or human, to give the solid core to the finer lace-like carving. The haliotis shell is again introduced with effect. But, quite apart from their art-work, the two regions, New Zealand and British Columbia, agree in adhering to the dugout, both large and small. The Maori once preferred the double canoe, and some, if not all, of the six canoes were of this truly Polynesian type. But in their new country they completely abandoned it, as well as the outrigger canoe, even though their coasts were stormy. This latter has its genesis on the surf-beaten open shores of South Asia, and especially of India, and developed into the double canoe in the Pacific. And in the islands the canoe is generally built high from a solid bottom by planks bound together with sinnet or cocoanut cord. But in New Zealand even the huge war-canoe was dug out of a single tree trunk, with only one plank, or at most two, to raise the sides; and in this it agrees with the huge canoe of the North-west coast of America.

(21) The megalithic pioneers evidently found their way from the North Pacific into Polynesia, and finally into New Zealand, the cul-de-sac of the Pacific, in huge single dugout

canoes, without outrigger; whilst the South Asiatic immigrants found their way into the same regions in half-dugout, half-plank-built canoes, made steady by outriggers, and afterwards by duplication. The ultimate dominance of the former in New Zealand was doubtless greatly aided by the extensive world-old forests that covered the islands. The North Pacific people who migrated into the Hawaiian Archipelago along the line of islets and reefs that stretch north-west from the group towards Japan had a far longer gap of unisleted ocean to cross from the coast of Asia; and when they got to their ultimate land-area, they found less gigantic trees and smaller forests; and hence the final predominance in this group of the Polynesian canoe, plank-built and outrigger or double. The tribes that went northwards and eastwards from the Japanese Archipelago could coast along islands or the mainland all the way, taking shelter at night or in storm, by the Kurile chain, Kamschatka, and the Aleutian chain. This is probably the reason the Aleutians and the British Columbians have kept to the huge single dugout canoe, and the reason why, unlike the Polynesians and the Maoris, they never used sail, but always paddled. The general resemblance of both the North Pacific and the Maori far-voyaging single canoe to the ship of the Scandinavian vikings, with its ornamented prow and stern, is not to be rejected as meaning nothing ethnologically after we have followed the megalithic track across from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and seen traces of fair-haired and blue-eyed peoples all the way, and the contrast between these ships and the bark canoes of the Arctic races and of the American Indians has equal significance.

No Difficulty in the Seeming Racial Differences

(22) Nor need we be stopped from finding racial affinities by the strongly Mongolised appearance of the natives of the

North-west American coast. That region, with the coast to the south, has been a cul-de-sac into which the American Indians of the plains have driven the defeated tribes of their race. Here wave after wave of Indians must have swept over the aboriginal coast tribes who had coasted from Asia, and must have obliterated not only their face-form, but their head-form ; for these weaker tribes, finding plenty of sea-food, never re-crossed the Rockies. And hence there is a perfect tangle of not merely dialects but stock languages on the Pacific Coast. Of Powell's fifty-eight linguistic families in North America forty belong to this strip between the mountains and the Pacific. Hence, too, a great mixture of long and short and intermediate heads in every tribe and almost every village, although the short or round Mongol head predominates ; whilst many of the natives, especially amongst the women, show, when washed, skins fairly white and ruddy cheeks, with hair soft and often brown ; amongst the Haidahs especially, the men when they do not, according to custom, pluck out the hair, have a fine beard and moustache. Holmes says of them : "Amongst the Haidahs or Queen Charlotte Island tribes exists a family of coarse red-haired, light-brown-eyed people of fair complexion" ; and Sproat says : "Their young women's skins are as clear and white as those of Englishwomen." These seem to be traces of the megalithic Caucasian sea-going race that had lived on the north-east coast of Asia and had been already, perhaps, liberally Mongolised in the process of being driven north and east—the same race that, un-Mongolised, went south-east into Polynesia.

Innumerable Ethnological Resemblances

(23) It would need several articles to enumerate all the ethnological points of contact between the Maori and the British Columbian. Niblack draws a parallel between the

Maori and the Haidah: "The political organisation of the tribe, their ownership of land, and their laws of blood-revenge are similar. The men tattoo with designs intended to identify them with their sub-tribe or household, and they ornament their canoes, paddles, house-fronts, and so forth in somewhat the same manner." But he continues his parallel only to show how these likenesses spring from the like tendencies of the human mind under the same external conditions. And Ratzel, after again and again showing how the culture of the British Columbian coast has an echo in it of Polynesia, and especially New Zealand, reluctantly abandons the effort to find where the community could have come in.

(24) A few more instances of likeness may be given; the importance attached to witchcraft and dreams, the introduction of incantations into the cure of disease, the revenge for deaths believed to be due to witchcraft, the cutting of the hair and the laceration of the body in mourning, the tendency to elongate the heads of children into a cone, the love of painting the body, the house, and most other things with red, the piercing and elongation of the earlobes, the making of cloth from the bast inside the bark of trees, the absence of any intoxicating drink and of the use of salt, the appetite for oil and oily foods, sporadic and half-suppressed cannibalism, the worship of ancestors and the fear of the spirits of the dead, the importance attached to oratory and the recitation of legends and genealogies, and the development of a type of dancing that makes less use of the legs than of the other limbs.

(25) But these two critics went on the assumption that the Polynesians all came from the south of Asia. A study of the northern megalithic route, and its trend into the islands of the Pacific, would have put them on the right track, and led them to see that racial elements in both British Columbians and Polynesians had once had proximity

and intercourse, if not intermingling, on the north-east coast of Asia.

Northward-pointing Traits in Polynesian Culture

(26) Only a few traces of the memory of a North Pacific origin need be pointed out in Polynesia. Ratzel suggests that as most of the Polynesian and South Asiatic hooks are unbarbed, the barbed ones that we find, especially in New Zealand, are to be assigned to the North Pacific. An occasional ornament is met with in the islands made of walrus ivory. And along with this may be placed the strange figure called the marakihau often found in the carved houses of the East Coast natives; with the lower part of the body like the tail of a fish, and two long tubes or tusks issuing from the monstrous mouth, it might be explained as a reminiscence of the walrus, as Mr. Percy Smith suggests. The use of combined leggings and sandals suggests the Indian mocassin, and the tattooing of the leg from knee to ankle and even to toe so frequent in the islands seems to indicate a former use of leg-coverings in a colder climate. The ancient pihanga in the Maori house, a square opening in the roof covered with a louvre, takes us to the houses of the North Pacific peoples, and so does the takuahi or hearth defined by four stone slabs on end, and the moulding of the earth up the sides and half over the roof, with the floor half underground. The reckoning of time by nights shows a far north origin, in a zone in which the long nights were more than the days and more important. The name for evening, ahiahi, the time of fires, used all over Polynesia has no tropical or subtropical origin; whilst the division of the year into two great seasons, winter and summer, and the half-dozen names for the former and only one for the latter (Raumati), seems to point up to north temperate or subarctic regions, where the winter is the dominant season, and the short summer breaks forth with sudden warmth,

dryness, and splendour. And, to close this enumeration, there is a picture of a North Pacific winter in the translation of an Easter Island inscribed tablet, recited by a native to the Americans who visited the islet in 1886: "In that happy land, that beautiful land, where Romaha formerly lived with his beloved Hangora, that beautiful land that was governed by gods from heaven, who lived in the water when it was cold, where the black-and-white pointed spider would have mounted to heaven, but was prevented by the bitterness of the cold." The chief god of Easter Island has the shape of a bird, and the gods mentioned here are probably water-birds.

(27) These are only indications; but, if taken with the large number of ethnological resemblances between the North Pacific and Polynesia, the megalithic route and the spirit-way of the Maoris, we may accept it as certain that they have no mere fanciful significance.

and intercourse, if not intermingling, on the north-east coast of Asia.

Northward-pointing Traits in Polynesian Culture

(26) Only a few traces of the memory of a North Pacific origin need be pointed out in Polynesia. Ratzel suggests that as most of the Polynesian and South Asiatic hooks are unbarbed, the barbed ones that we find, especially in New Zealand, are to be assigned to the North Pacific. An occasional ornament is met with in the islands made of walrus ivory. And along with this may be placed the strange figure called the marakihau often found in the carved houses of the East Coast natives; with the lower part of the body like the tail of a fish, and two long tubes or tusks issuing from the monstrous mouth, it might be explained as a reminiscence of the walrus, as Mr. Percy Smith suggests. The use of combined leggings and sandals suggests the Indian mocassin, and the tattooing of the leg from knee to ankle and even to toe so frequent in the islands seems to indicate a former use of leg-coverings in a colder climate. The ancient pihanga in the Maori house, a square opening in the roof covered with a louvre, takes us to the houses of the North Pacific peoples, and so does the takuahi or hearth defined by four stone slabs on end, and the moulding of the earth up the sides and half over the roof, with the floor half-underground. The reckoning of time by nights shows a far north origin, in a zone in which the long nights were more than the days and more important. The name for evening, ahiahi, the time of fires, used all over Polynesia has no tropical or subtropical origin; whilst the division of the year into two great seasons, winter and summer, and the half-dozen names for the former and only one for the latter (Raumati), seems to point up to north temperate or subarctic regions, where the winter is the dominant season, and the short summer breaks forth with sudden warmth,

dryness, and splendour. And, to close this enumeration, there is a picture of a North Pacific winter in the translation of an Easter Island inscribed tablet, recited by a native to the Americans who visited the islet in 1886: "In that happy land, that beautiful land, where Romaha formerly lived with his beloved Hangora, that beautiful land that was governed by gods from heaven, who lived in the water when it was cold, where the black-and-white pointed spider would have mounted to heaven, but was prevented by the bitterness of the cold." The chief god of Easter Island has the shape of a bird, and the gods mentioned here are probably water-birds.

(27) These are only indications; but, if taken with the large number of ethnological resemblances between the North Pacific and Polynesia, the megalithic route and the spirit-way of the Maoris, we may accept it as certain that they have no mere fanciful significance.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRATIFICATION OF THE MAORI, AS SEEN IN HIS CUSTOMS

NEW ZEALAND AS THE CUL-DE-SAC OF THE PACIFIC IS THE BEST POLYNESIAN EXAMPLE OF ETHNOLOGICAL STRATIFICATION

(1) WE have seen that there are traces of a fair race throughout the Pacific, and also traces of a race that erected great stone monuments. And we have seen reason to believe that the two are the same. Even though there may have been different migrations of them from the Japanese Archipelago, spreading over several centuries, if not several thousand years, they are all practically the same Caucasian race that reached the Pacific through the north of Central Asia. The long periods that separate the migrations may even have produced different developments of custom and different dialects of the language. And as one immigration arrived in an island or group of islands, it would master some of its predecessors and drive out others on expeditions in search of further lands. And the last of the land-areas to be reached would certainly be New Zealand, where there was room for many immigrations, and where, doubtless, many different types of immigrants remained and fought it out, or entered into intercourse or alliance and union. Beyond it there was no further land to be found to the south or the east; and refluxes would have scant chance of finding new or uninhabited islands on the route they had come.

(2) This land is, therefore, the palimpsest or many-times-rewritten record of the prehistoric history of the Pacific. And in its customs it should show better than any other group of islands the migrant wave on wave that has overflowed it; it should show more variety of custom than any other Polynesian land. The last conquering immigration is, of course, the most likely to be dominant in the legends. For it is always the last masterful aristocracy that arrogates to itself the rights of genealogy and birth and the privilege of having a history. The Polynesians of the six canoes, therefore, obliterated all genealogical records. But in absorbing their predecessors they were bound to absorb their customs too, especially those that were suited to the new country and the new climate. We may expect to find more than in any part of Polynesia a tangle of manners and customs and stages of culture. All tribes on the face of the earth were, long before history commenced, cross-breeds, some more, some less. And all show, therefore, an ethnology that is by no means simple or pure. But it is the culs-de-sac of the world, like New Zealand, that are bound to reveal most complexity of culture.

An Astonishing Contradiction in the Emotional Attitude of the Polynesians

(3) Nowhere else in the world will we find such a mixture of methods of feeling as in Polynesia. There is a rude and primitive phase, and there is a somewhat advanced, semi-cultured phase that proclaim two distinct stages of barbarism or half-culture. Every traveller and observer from the earliest times had called attention to the strange contrast in the South Sea Islanders between the hospitable and kindly, if not gentle, ways in times of peace and the fierce cannibalism and the cruel treatment of enemies in times of war. But even in their

peaceful intercourse there is something of the same contradiction. The softer and more humane and often romantic side of their character has drawn many a wanderer from European civilisation permanently into their midst, and especially since the advent of Christianity. And yet human sacrifices, even of men from friendly tribes, disappeared not so long ago.

(4) The abolition of slavery is not so distant an historical event amongst the Anglo-Saxon race as to make them feel superior to Polynesian culture. But in the former case, at least in recent times, the slaves were of an alien and lower race, and meant to work in a climate that was not suited to white labour. The Polynesian slaves were on a level with their masters, like those in ancient Greece and Rome, and usually of their own kin. Hence there was a certain humaneness in the relationship. We can see by the legends and stories that master and slave and mistress and slave were often close companions, showing much benevolence on the one hand and much loyalty on the other. And yet the slaves generally supplied the human sacrifices, and all the victims needed at dedications and ceremonies; at the building of a house or pa a slave was often buried alive embracing each of the great posts, a custom not unusual even in Europe up till mediaeval times.

The Treatment of Women most easily tests a Civilisation

(5) In their attitude to women we observe the same contradiction in the Polynesian manners and customs that reveals the mingling of two different stages of culture. The women do not only all the household work, and especially the despised duty of cooking, but most of the field work, the raising and the collecting of the food, and the dressing of

materials and the making of garments, just as amongst the most primitive and savage races; whilst the men do the hunting and fishing and fighting, the building of houses and canoes, and everything connected with art and religion, carving, tattooing, and oratory. This represents the early stage when the wives were also the slaves, when the women of the conquered tribes were taken into the households to raise children and to do servile duties. The result is that the men retain their erect attitude and handsome form till far on in life, whilst the women, the burden-bearers, grow early old and hag-like. This contrast between the sexes belongs to a primitive stage, in which polygamy prevails, and the chief occupations of the male are war and hunting.

(6) But there are other aspects of female life in Polynesia that are a direct contradiction to this low polygamic stage. Women often occupied the position of distinction given to them by the Teutons, as described by Tacitus in the Germania. They were priestesses and seers, whose utterances were received with awe, and whose persons were guarded with reverence. They mingled with the men in warfare, and contributed not a little to the enthusiasm of the battle and the success of the victory. Nay, we hear not infrequently of chieftainesses who led the defence of a pa or the march of the warriors into battle. For the women had practically equal rights of inheritance with the men. The only limitation of it was that if they married into another tribe they did not take their rights with them as the men generally did.

(7) But perhaps the most striking contrast in the situation was the romance that hung round youthful love in all their legends, arguing great independence in the daughter of the household, although polygamy was not uncommon, and the marriage rite, unlike those of all other events in life (birth, baptism, tattooing, cutting of the hair, initiation, death), was insignificant, a mere handing over of the bride by her

brothers and uncles into the hands of the husband as his property. And a similar antithesis lies between the attitude of the Polynesian to maidenhood and to married life. There was no value attached to purity in the former, either in practice or theory; the girl was left to do as she pleased without let or blame. In theory, though perhaps not always in practice, the bonds of marriage were strictly respected. The latter was doubtless due to the inheritance of tribal and family rights to the land, which any ambiguity in the descent would mar. A people that kept such careful genealogies could not but pay great attention to purity of family life and descent. And yet in their legends and stories there is evidence of considerable interference with it, and of considerable toleration of such interference. Perhaps there is no more piquant antithesis to be found in ethnology than this combination of polygamy and female inheritance, the romance of love and the complete licence permitted before marriage. It seems to be due to the conquest of a primitive people by warriors, who married the women of the conquered, and accepted many of their marriage customs.

(8) There are two significant traits in their treatment of women that point in this direction. One was that the women had to do all the cooking, and had to eat apart. The men were too sacred to take any share in the culinary work. They were often too sacred even to touch cooked food with their hands, and they had to be fed like little children, the women cramming the food into their mouths. The steam of cooked food must never cross the head of a great warrior. And the women had usually to cook their own food in a separate oven. The other feature was that the women had no part or lot in religion. Like the Patupaiarehe, who stand for one tribe of pre-Polynesians, they had no karakia. If we piece these together with the abhorrence of cooked food exhibited by this legendary people, we may conclude that the warriors of the

six canoes furnished their households with aboriginal women. Yet the chiefs and their families would take their place beside the women and the slaves in the work of the field. And in some of the Polynesian groups, as in Tonga, the women were largely relieved from being burden-bearers. In New Zealand the primitive combination of wife and drudge formed a striking contrast to the romance of love, the power of inheritance by women, and the honour paid to priestesses and chieftainesses. The same piquant antithesis existed in their treatment of old men and of children. The old were neglected and left to die like the sick. And yet none were so honoured in their assemblies as the old men. They dote upon their children, even when adopted; no race has ever shown more fondness for the little ones. And yet the warriors would not object to feasting on the flesh of an infant, even when absolute need did not demand it: and infanticide, although not nearly so common as in Polynesia, was not unknown.

There is Nothing that a Race conserves so long or so Tenaciously as Burial Customs

(9) But affinities of peoples are to be sought most successfully in their disposal of the dead. And where there is much diversity in this we may be sure that there is much intermixture of blood. In their burial customs the Polynesians, and especially the Maoris, display much hesitancy between one system and another. The commonest form was to bury the bodies or place them on a platform or in the fork of a tree for a time, and then take up the bones and hide them in their final, and always sacred, resting-place. The slaves, of course, were huddled into the earth anyhow and anywhere, as having no souls. This method was natural to a people

accustomed to land-migrations. A second system much less common, but more suited to a maritime people, was to set the dead adrift in a canoe or in a coffinlike boat; this was noticed by some of the old European voyagers in the islands and in Cook Straits. A third system was cremation; though this was especially adopted in war in an enemy's country so as to prevent the flesh of their dead being eaten and their bones being used in an ignominious manner for the making of implements, it was not confined to war times; it was by no means uncommon in peace, especially among the dwellers on the plains. In the Marlborough Sounds, and in parts of the southern parts of the North Island, cremation-mounds are found rich with the ashes of the dead and the oil or fat of the porpoise; whilst burial in the active or extinct craters of volcanoes is not unknown. A modification of this was burning the body and preserving the head so that it could be kept in the dwelling and wept over and honoured by the bereaved. As a sharp contrast and pendant to this was the custom of cutting off the heads of dead enemies, drying them, and setting them up as an object of mockery and cursing and vituperation, perhaps a relic of the passage of at least one Polynesian migration through the head-hunting regions of Indonesia. A fourth but rare method was embalming. This could be done in only a partial way, because of the lack of proper preservatives; after the extraction of the softer parts, oil or salt was rubbed into the flesh, and the body was dried in the sun or over a fire; then the mummy was wrapped in cloth and hidden away. In the islands this method was adopted with adults; but it preserved the body only for a short period. In several parts of New Zealand the bodies of children have been found thus preserved and wrapped in cloth. In several Polynesian groups the body is doubled up and then swathed; and in some parts of New Zealand the skeletons of mummified bodies are found in this crouching or

sitting posture. The Maoris assert ignorance of the people thus buried, and the lack of respect for the burial-places seems to confirm this assertion. It is doubtless a method of the megalithic people that have been traced into Polynesia and New Zealand. And the great dolmen-like slabs of wood often set up over the graves of chiefs were probably derived by the Maoris from the same source, wood being substituted for stone in so well-forested a country.

(10) Whatever the system adopted, its object was to prevent the bodies of the dead falling into the hands of enemies and being desecrated or absorbed by them. The megalithic chamber was the first effective sign of this fear, and was evidently adopted by the neolithic Caucasians when they came to wander over the face of the earth. They made the houses of the dead such fortifications as would resist all the attempts of an enemy to enter them. Cremation was the next method; for the ashes could be carried by the emigrants whithersoever they went, and were ultimately deposited in barrows or graves. In less migratory communities mummification or embalming was next adopted, so that the bodies might be kept often within or near the houses of the living. The preservation of the bones after burial for a time was a modification where embalming was impossible; and head-preservation was a second. Burial at sea was the measure naturally adopted by a maritime people to baulk their enemies and send their dead on the way to their primeval home. The adoption of all or most of these methods in Polynesia, and especially in New Zealand, is one of the most striking proofs of mixture of races and stages of civilisation in a region that has usually been supposed to be especially the home of a pure race.

BUT THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL PHASE OF A PEOPLE'S CULTURE IS ITS SOCIAL ORDER AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO LAND; AND HERE THERE IS EVIDENCE IN POLYNESIA NOT MERELY OF ADAPTATION TO ENVIRONMENT, BUT OF INTER-MIXTURE OF RACE

(11) It is not in ceremonial customs alone that the social life shows signs of stratification. They are evident in the constitution of the Polynesian societies. The fundamental feature of these is the village community, which has been found among the Aryan Hindoos, the Slavs and the Teutons, and has been proved to be a primitive feature of most of those races that have for long ages spoken Aryan languages. Amongst Aryan-speaking peoples it consists of the division of the district surrounding the village into belts or zones, one held in common by the village for pasture, another split up into meadows for culture, each of which had a strip or strips apportioned to each family in the village; and these strips had to be cultivated in a fixed order of crops, so that all of a meadow should be in fallow at once, or in wheat or rye at once, and the village council, generally consisting of the elders, but in India of representatives, decided all questions of possession and culture of land. Now in Polynesia this method of constituting the relationship of the people to land is as evident, with adaptations made necessary by the environment. In islands where there are no mammals and no cereals there could not be the same distribution. There is no pasturage; but instead of it there is a belt of wild fruiting trees, where berries may be gathered, and birds and rats may be snared by all the people of the village, but under certain restrictions as to seasons, times and methods carefully prescribed, partly by long custom, partly by the chief or priest of the village, guided by the men of the village in council. Then there is the patch or belt of cultivated fruiting trees,

the cocoanut or breadfruit in the tropical groups, the karaka and other berried trees in New Zealand; and here the family that plants the trees is allowed the use of them, so long as it keeps them in order, even if the patch on which it plants them belongs to some other family, but has been left waste by it. Effective occupation is the true claim to land in Polynesia, and especially in New Zealand. Then close to the village are the patches cultivated from year to year. But, as there are no cattle to graze and no cereals to sow, there is no rotation of crops. It is always the taro or yam or sweet potato; and the root crop does not seem to exhaust the soil of a special element like some of the cereals, yet it manifestly did in time impoverish the ground, for from time to time the cultivated patch or belt was changed. Near the villages there are frequent signs of sections of cultivated land having been abandoned.

(12) And now come in the features that differentiate the Polynesian from the Aryan system. First of all there are clear proofs of the Polynesian and most of his ancestry being a maritime and fishing people. For every village has a sea frontage, or if too far inland, then a lake or river frontage, where it can find a variation in diet in the fish and other products of the water. Its canoe life is one of its most predominant features, and hence it must also have the rights to a section of forest, in which it can cut down trees to hollow into canoes. It is this necessity that caused the Maori soon after he came to New Zealand to make far inland in many parts, although by nature and tradition a sea-haunting people. On the other hand, he retained from some previous continental ancestry the traces of land nomadism, and even of the hunting stage. For the Maori never abandoned the right and the duty to migrate by land to some other part of New Zealand, even if he had to fight for it. And wherever he settled he took care that he had a considerable tract of hunting-ground,

chiefly forest. He had no large mammals to kill, until Captain Cook's pigs multiplied, and then he took to pig-hunting as if "to the manner born"; but he had rats and birds to snare. This hunting habit was doubtless resurrected or at least emphasised in him by his intermixture with aborigines who had not reached the agricultural stage. His abhorrence of manure he probably got from these pre-agricultural predecessors. Another strange predilection seems to point back to a riding ancestry, though it might be attributed to the squatting attitude. He admired knees slightly bent outwards, and a common occupation of the grandmother when she had the baby on her knee was to massage the little legs in this direction.

(13) There are other differentiating features that cannot be due to the new environment. There is, for example, something of the old patriarchal system that must have preceded in many races the village or localised community. It is the family that is the unit in the Maori clan or tribe as far as the possession of land is concerned; the family has its section carefully defined, and hunts and fishes and cultivates by itself, and can dispose of it by common consent, provided the approval of the tribal chief and council of elders is obtained; it stores its food in common, and acts generally as if it were an individual; within its own community it practises socialism; in the tribe it is an individual, with its ariki or tohunga to act for it. And, in spite of this internal socialistic democracy, it has the germs of aristocratic oligarchy, and even of monarchy in it; the council of elders or representatives is the final appeal in all matters of dispute, and has great influence over the actions and decisions of the ariki or chief. On the other hand once war has begun the chief is supreme, although when it is over he lapses into not more than the member of the oligarchy, or even the common member of the democracy. He has no more right to the

land than any other in the family. If he is a priest, or in any way sacred, he has first-fruits given to him as the representative of the gods. And, though primogeniture prevails, it has its limitations, for lack of character or courage or hospitality may depose the eldest son or heir from his rights. There was scope left for the rise of a minor, and the council of elders and the general community had as much to do with the selection for the chiefship as heredity; and the beginnings of modern property were seen in the permission to individuals to acquire land by marriage and other means.

(14) In the larger areas like New Zealand, where great forests and mountains allowed scope for the development and escape of aboriginals, and for conquest, there are the germs of feudalism; for there had been growing up, probably from the time of the great migration from Polynesia, a system of vassalage of varying character. A tribe that had been conquered was often allowed, instead of being reduced to slavery, to occupy its old territory on condition of contributing, as rental to the conquering tribe, a certain proportion of the products, or a certain amount of assistance in war. So an allied tribe was often given a piece of land as reward for assistance in warfare on condition that they returned every year a proportion of the fruits or game. Nay, there was an incipient feudalism in the constitution of the tribe itself. For every family in it that had land was expected to contribute all its available warriors in time of war. This might easily have passed into that military tenure of land which was the essence of mediaeval European feudalism, as of Japanese feudalism, if the service had been to the individual chief, instead of to the tribe, if, as occurred after the introduction of firearms, the capable leader, like Hongi or Rauparaha, had acquired permanent power by making war a profession, and had grown into the divider of conquered lands amongst his followers. In Hawaii and in Tonga this actually occurred

even before the coming of Europeans. A monarchy as the head of a feudalistic aristocracy had arisen.

(15) Thus we see in the social order and in its relationship to land not merely an evolution produced by new environment, but an intermixture of primitive and more advanced systems, the patriarchal and the village-communal, the family and the tribal, the socialistic and the feudal, the oligarchic and the monarchic.

Religion is the Greatest Conservator of the Past

(16) Even in religion this stratification is apparent, although the conservatism of this sphere renders the evidence of it more ambiguous. But as a rule it is only obscure traces or relics of cruder stages that are retained in the more advanced. And where there are broad tracts of several stages or phases manifest in a race or people, we may be sure that the civilisation is mixed as well as the race.

(17) Now, amongst primitive peoples, especially amongst most of those that spoke Aryan languages, the earliest sign of religious evolution was the development of a priesthood and priestly domination. The earliest prehistoric stage in which we find those peoples is the patriarchal, in which the father of the family performs all or most of the family rites, and the hearth is the altar; it is especially characteristic of nomadic shepherd races. When the Hindoos, Greeks, and Romans come on the historic scene, there is fast developing amongst them the dominance of a priesthood. For they have evolved the tribe, which throws household worship into the background, and the nation is tending to take its place. Amongst the Polynesians the two stages, the family and the tribal, are intermingled, in the tropical islands the family religion being the most prominent, in New Zealand the tribal. But even in the latter, though there is a great development

of the priesthood and its power, it has still a rival in the household; the separate family has many rites it can go through without the assistance of the priest. But the growing importance of the tribe through the almost permanent state of war tended to make the tribal rites and the priest supreme.

(18) But in another form the primitive or patriarchal stage persists more clearly. For the early household religion is based on the worship of ancestors. And in Polynesia, and especially in New Zealand, the preservation of the genealogy is one of the chief functions of the priesthood, and not only of the priesthood, but of all the elders and learned men of the community. They are all able to trace back their ancestry to the gods. Nay, the chiefs at least were able to boast that not only would they join the divine ranks at death, but they were divine already. And as a rule it is on the disappearance of ancestor worship that an elaborate priestly fabric is reared. Yet here we have the two intimately allied.

(19) Another mark of a highly primitive and especially Aryan religion is the absence of temples, or, rather, the performance of the rites in the open air. Though the Polynesian as an islander has no trace of the pastoral about him, and is a careful house-builder, he conducted his worship in the open. The innumerable rites and incantations necessary at every stage and movement in life were performed under the sky, often in the marae or public place; but an altar could be set up anywhere, on a journey or expedition, wherever there was a priest, a victim, and the materials for an oven. And yet in New Zealand at least there was generally in every village a building sacred to the teaching of the genealogies and cosmology, the wharekura; it was, in fact, a school of the priests. Here the youth of priestly or noble family assembled in the winter months, and under strict religious discipline learned the sacred traditions of the tribe and the race, the karakias or incantations, and the rites and ceremonies. It

was strictly tapu or forbidden to any but the sacred persons. Here we have the germ, at least, if not the full-grown institution, of a temple, or church, or synagogue, that essentially conflicts with the open-air character of most of the ceremonies. The wharekura belongs to a very advanced religion; the performance of all or most of the rites under the sky belongs to the most primitive stage of religion.

(20) The same contradiction appears in the Maori attitude to images. On one side of their religion the Polynesians seem to have none, and by many travellers and observers are reported to have none. They have no permanent human form in wood or stone that they worship; although the Maoris represent their deified ancestors in the monstrous carved figures on the doorways and walls of their public buildings, these are by no means objects of worship. And yet there is a feature of their religion that is distinctly fetichistic. The priest in his incantations and ceremonies sets up representatives of the gods in mounds of earth or pieces of toi-toi or stones, and to these presents special portions of the cooked food. And in the legends of the Maori immigration we hear of gods being carried in the canoes, some of which, as a lock of hair and the Mokoia stone-god, were preserved till the nineteenth century in their sacred places. And in the tropical islands the primitive totemistic system is manifest in the bird or beast or plant that a household or village adopts as its god and will not eat. Thus alongside an imageless system of worship, that usually belongs to an advanced stage of religion, there stand the evidences of two of the most primitive, if not savage, forms, the fetichistic and the totemistic.

(21) Nay, there was developed elaborately, especially in New Zealand, a religious feature that is essentially fetichistic. This was the famous tapu, that fettered life amongst the Maoris at almost every step in it. It was a plague of sacredness. Whoever was sacred infected everything he touched

with consecration to the gods. And whatever had thus the microbe of divinity communicated to it could communicate it to other things and persons, and render them incapable of common use or approach. Not till the priest had removed the divine element by ceremonies and incantations could the thing or person become common or fit for human use or approach again. The only thing that was always common and unclean, and therefore to be kept away from every person or thing that was sacred, was cooked food. The abhorrence of cooked food attributed to the Patupaiarehe or fairies, set beside this, seems to indicate an aboriginal source for the extraordinary strength of this feeling amongst the Polynesians.

(22) There is another curious trait of this legendary people that seems also to point to the primitive religion of aboriginals. It is that they had not the power of karakia or incantation. In other words, there was no priesthood amongst this indigenous population to deal with the tapu and other religious dilemmas of life; there were no sacred formulæ or ceremonies, such as only a family or caste set apart for the purpose could remember accurately enough to make efficient. In short, the religion of the aboriginals was evidently in the primitive household or family stage, and had not developed into that use of magic and incantations which especially belongs to the priestly and monarchic concentration of a race or people, and which is especially characteristic of the older Babylonian religion. The life of the Polynesian was saturated with witchcraft and its attendant magic, which, according to their legends, went back right into the times of the gods. And in New Zealand makutu attained to such proportions as to sap and embitter the existence of the Maori. Everything seems to indicate that this dominance of witchcraft and magic came with the conquerors from South Asia, and did not originate with the people whom they subdued in the Pacific.

(23) Thus in the most conservative of all phases of human culture, the religious, we find evidences of various contradictory stages in Polynesia, the primitive household-worship of the patriarchal stage, and the rise of a powerful priesthood that means advanced political organisation, the templeless worship of early nomads, and the beginnings of the sacred building that concentrates the art and the devotion of the community upon it, the imageless worship of an advanced people, and the totemistic, and even fetichistic methods of an uncultured race. The most striking contrast to this last is the splendid fragment of cosmology that Maori myth begins with, classing it as it does with the most imaginative and abstract mythology of the Aryan peoples. If these violent contradictions be taken along with those in the social customs and the social constitution, we can see that they are not due to development. Development obscures or obliterates most of the superseded stages, retaining only faint traces of them. Nothing but the intermixture of two or more races can explain them.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRATIFICATION OF THE MAORI, AS SEEN IN HIS LANGUAGE

(1) ONE of the most untrustworthy of evidences of race is language. For languages will not mix except in their vocabulary; and there it is so easy for an alien word to take on a familiar guise and a familiar word to take on an alien guise that we may be deceived by likeness or analogy. A people strips off its linguistic apparel as lightly as its peculiar dress and adopts another in its place. Races have been perpetually crossing since the beginning of mankind. But languages only displace each other or make compromise by rubbing off each other's grammatical or phonological peculiarities. And derivations are the most delusive of all lines of historical or prehistoric investigation.

(2) Yet there is something to be got at times from the general affinities and characteristics of a language. And Maori has not escaped the efforts of the linguistic investigator, as an evidence of race. For a time it was assumed to be an offshoot of Malay. And the result was the usual fallacy. The Polynesians were declared to be, like the Malays, a mongoloid race. And the misleading name "Malayo-Polynesian" still lingers as descriptive of race even in the latest histories and descriptions of the Pacific, and induces the most grievous misconceptions as to the affinities of the South Sea Islanders. The term is as misleading when applied to language. For Malay as the tongue of a mongoloid people

is assumed to be agglutinative, or, in other words, to express the grammatical relations by symbolic elements that are, unlike inflections, detachable from the stems. And Maori is constantly classified as an agglutinative and even as a Turanian language.

(3) But there is nothing agglutinative about it. And the remains of inflections apparent in it indicate that one of the languages that it displaced was inflectional, if not both. Now the only inflectional languages are either Aryan or Semitic, both types belonging only to Caucasian peoples. In one relic, the internal plural, it seems to have affinity with the Semitic. But in most of the remains of inflection it points to Aryan parentage. It seems, therefore, not unlikely that one or more Aryan tongues went to the making of it.

Maori Grammar, like English, is the Result of the Collision of two Languages

(4) The true classification of Maori is with the modern European languages, and especially with the most modern of all languages, English. It has reduced inflection to a minimum, and expresses the grammatical relationship of words chiefly by their order in the sentence, and the use of auxiliaries and particles. It has the power of interchanging the significant parts of speech, the noun, adjective, verb, and adverb, as occasion requires or dictates. The number of nouns is indicated by the articles or other definitives, the case by prepositions, the gender by the addition of the word for male or female, the degree of adjectives by a separate word, and the mood and tense of verbs by a particle.

(5) It is, in short, as uninflectional or isolating a language as English, and it is agreed by most philologists now that

this type is by no means primitive: is, in fact, the end of a long process instead of the beginning. The farther we go back in the history of a language the more inflectional we find it; and it is the most barbarous instead of the most cultivated that has most inflections as a rule. The exception of Greek and Latin at first misled philology. And if we take English, the modern language in which the process of inflectional decay has gone furthest, we see the true cause of it plainly marked. It is the clash of grammars. It is the intercourse of two peoples in the same country, each of whom fails to master the inflections of the other's grammar. Anglo-Saxon was more inflected than any modern European tongue, and, though the process of inflectional decay had set in through the inroads and conquests of the Danes, it was not completed till the Normans settled as the aristocracy and rulers of the country. These immigrants, being in a minority, had to adopt the language of the Saxons, but in doing so they failed to understand or master the inflections, and at last did without them, whilst they introduced vast numbers of words from French into the popular speech. But traces of the old inflections have been left, especially in the pronoun and the verb, parts of speech that have so much of the relational in them that they cannot easily do without something formal in their changes. And in the noun the plural is still indicated by an external change, whilst in a few it shows internal change.

(6) Now nothing could better describe the grammar of Maori than this. The pronouns and the verbs are the parts of speech that show the remains of inflection, whilst a few of the nouns indicate their plural by internal change; "tangata," a man, has its first vowel short in the singular and long in the plural, so "wahine," a woman, and half a dozen others. But the process of rubbing out the inflections has gone much further in Maori than in English. It has

retained no external method of indicating the number or gender, except by the addition of another word. The internal inflection for number in those few nouns is probably the result of the same phonological law as still makes "man" in English take as plural "men," the law of Umlaut—that is, the original inflection has modified the vowel of the root and then disappeared. In the Maori pronoun the disintegration of grammatical form is perhaps not quite so advanced, for we have a dual in the personal pronouns, though not in the others, whilst in the demonstrative the singular "tenei," "this," is formed from the plural "enei," "these," by prefixed inflection. In the Maori verb the old inflections have left fewer traces than in the English verb; in fact there is only one, that for voice. The passive is formed from the active by an affix, which changes to suit the termination; the original form of this was probably "ia," the third personal pronoun singular, though it often prefixes a consonant, to suit the sound, or drops the "i." This shows the formation of the passive to be similar to that in the older Aryan languages; it was what is called in Greek grammar a middle voice; in other words, a reflexive voice, formed by the addition of a reflexive pronoun to the active voice.

(7) Now, the only explanation for this striking linguistic development is that which we know fits the modern evolution of English. Two languages far more highly inflected than modern Maori have come together in the same region and mutually destroyed the formal grammar, leaving only a few traces of the inflections.

It was in Indonesia that this Evolution was accomplished

(8) But it must not be forgotten that this flexionless grammar belongs not merely to Maori, but to the dialects of all the groups of Polynesia. Not only so, but the very

relics of grammatical inflection are the same in all. And this reveals that the grammar, as it is, was brought with the conquerors, and being as simple as it well could be it was acquired by the conquered. Nay, there is evidence that it had already been stripped of its grammatical forms before it passed from Indonesia. For this flexionless character, along with some of the relics of inflection, belongs not merely to the Malay tongue, but to the Malagasy, spoken so far away as the east coast of Africa. The mistake made by early observers was that the Polynesian dialects, as well as the Malagasy, were all derived from Malay as spoken by the navigating race that founded the empire in the Malay Peninsula from Sumatra in the twelfth century. An even greater mistake was made in classifying the Polynesians and the Malays as the same in race because of the similarity of their languages. It was assumed by both that the Malay as a great navigator had traded into the Pacific and colonised the islands.

(9) The consideration of one fact alone would have prevented all such misconceptions. The iron age began in the Malay Archipelago about the beginning of our era; and not one scrap of iron or other metal was found in Polynesia before it was brought by the European voyagers. The historical Malay of Sumatra and the peninsula could, therefore, never have traded with the Pacific Islands; nor could his half-Mongol half-Caucasian ancestor, the Malayan, have had any intercourse with Polynesian after the beginning of our era.

(10) The true explanation is that the friction between two inflected tongues that resulted in the flexionless grammar must have taken place in the Indonesian archipelago before the Mongols appear there, and before the Malagasy dialect reached Madagascar, or the Polynesian dialect reached the South Sea Islands. In the great archipelago that stretches

from Sumatra to Celebes there must have been a vigorous and comparatively dense Caucasian population in prehistoric times either driving the negroid aborigines into the interior or absorbing them. Two Caucasian, and most probably two Aryan, tongues came into collision in Indonesia through the amalgamation of two Caucasian races; this and this alone will explain the evolution of so flexionless and so modern a language with the embedded relics of inflection in it.

(11) That this occurred some centuries before our era can be proved. For the Malagasy dialect contains no Hindoo or Sanskritic words like the Malay and the Polynesian. Hence it must have hived off before there was much migration from India into Indonesia; and that is supposed to have begun at least three centuries before our era. The Arabic words in the tongue of Madagascar have been shown to be very ancient, and are probably due to the voyages of the Himyarites of South Arabia, the Sheba of Solomon, along the east coast of Africa in search of gold and other precious products of that continent.

(12) The colossal mortuary dolmens and circles of Madagascar indicate that it was reached by the megalithic migrants, who, after coming to the ocean in the east along the southern Asiatic route, took to far-voyaging. They point back to Sumatra and Java and their colossal-stone monuments; whilst the comparatively fair complexion of many of the Malagasies points to a Caucasic or originally European infiltration into the African island. But there must have been a Malayan or half-Mongoloid, half-Caucasic immigration as well. For the kinship of the Malays and the Malagasies is apparent in their features, their small stature, and their general character. We may infer, therefore, that the intrusion of the Mongols into Indonesia occurred at least three or four centuries before our era. But it is equally clear that they had not overflowed the whole archipelago and modified its

Caucasian inhabitants. Many parts must have been un-Mongolised. For the Polynesians, who undoubtedly rested in Indonesia, carried no Mongol features or characteristics with them into their ultimate home. They remained tall, wavy-haired, bearded, and comparatively long-headed, such as no Mongol or Malay ever was; nor have they any of the recklessness or the sullen fitfulness of the Malay.

But the Phonology was modified in Polynesia, and thus shows an Aboriginal Influence

(13) There was one element of the Polynesian dialects that, though probably modified in Indonesia, was still more modified in the Pacific Islands. This was the phonology, the range of sounds that the language included. The grammar it brought could not well be made simpler, and hence remained as it was brought, in spite of the new peoples that had to adopt it. But we see from Malay and Malagasy that it had in Indonesia a much larger scope in sounds. Both these languages have fifty per cent. more letters to use in forming its words. Polynesian must have rejected this surplusage when it had to adapt itself to the speech organs of the conquered in the Pacific. The result is one of the simplest, most primitive phonologies on the face of the earth. Not that all the islands have the same. Every group has rejected one or two sounds that some of the others have retained, a clear proof that there were different peoples in them, with organs of speech long moulded under different climatic conditions. The vowels are all retained and are less subject to change, though in individual words they are often substituted the one for the other. They are but few, and all the dialects have rejected diphthongs, some of which Malay has retained. But the consonants, few as they are, differ greatly when the same word appears in different dialects. The dialects

of the islands that are nearer the equator have liberally rejected the guttural k, and that this was not solely or directly due to climate is shown by the fact that the Moriori dialect of the Chatham Islands does the same, a fact that seems to show that the Polynesian ancestors of the Morioris came from islands nearer the equator than those of the North Island Maoris. The difficult initial ng is also rejected by most of those dialects and by that of the South Island of New Zealand, the former preferring instead of it n, the latter k.

(14) It is generally the household or domestic pronunciation that determines the direction of change in sounds; the women of the conquered are taken in as wives or servants, and mould the speech of the children in their early or plastic stage, and their climatic environment is their most faithful ally in this. The new vocabulary of a language that is a compromise is moulded by the men on the battlefield and in the market-place; its phonology and its grammar are moulded on the hearth. Now, in Maori there are only fifteen sounds, the five vowels, three liquids, m, n, r (in Polynesian l); one guttural, k; one dental, t; and one labial, p; three breathings, h, w, and wh; and a nasal initial, ng. This is one of the simplest of phonologies; it is evidently one that has abandoned all the half-tones and variations, all the difficult sounds that may have been introduced by the more advanced culture of any conquering immigrants. If one of the ethnological strata in the Polynesians was Aryan, as the grammar seems to indicate, then the triple variety of the sonants (k, g, gh; p, b, ph; t, d, th) that belongs to most Aryan tongues has disappeared, and a set of three, one for each of the main points of contact of the organs of speech (namely, k, p, t) has taken their place. Doubtless, the aboriginals found the distinction brought by the immigrants between hard, soft, and aspirate in each order of sonant beyond their powers of

discrimination by ear and hence beyond their powers of speech.

This Loss of Sounds has by Assimilation brought Incongruous Meanings under the Same Words

(15) A striking contrast to this primitive phonological scheme is the fulness of the vocabulary, which runs into tens of thousands of words, where that of most primitive and even half-cultured peoples runs only into thousands. And yet there are no abstract words for qualities of things or persons, such as are found in all languages that have reached the stage of introspection or self-reflection. The only approach to these consists of the personified names of the cosmology and the mythology, like Kore, "The Void"; Ao, "The Upper World"; Po, "The Lower World," and Whaitua, "Space," which indicate that the Polynesian mind had entered on the road that leads to abstraction and philosophy. But it went no further during the centuries of the Pacific, and instead rather tended to fall back on the particular and the individual, the mark of an uncultured people.

(16) The Maori substitute for the abstract is the use of the metaphorical or analogical. No barbarous or semi-cultured race ever indulged to such an extent in figures of speech. If figurative language constitutes poetry, an opinion not uncommon amongst critics as well as the unthinking, then there never was a people so poetical; they are a race of poets by nature; in their myths and incantations, songs and oratory, they revel in the figurative till it is difficult for the European mind to follow them. Like Hudibras, the Maori orator no sooner opes his mouth than "out there flies a trope."

(17) The result is that in the Maori dictionary there is an astounding number of synonyms for everything that the

people are familiar with, and there is as astonishing a development of meanings for every second or third word. But in the classification and study of these there is a great source of ambiguity and difficulty. A large proportion of the words have applications that it is impossible for the European mind to find the connection or analogy between. Take as an example the word "rere"; one set of meanings is easily put together: to run like water, fly, sail, leap, move to and fro in speechifying, rise or set like the stars; but the others are difficult to connect or classify; to be born, to be rejected, to hang, suddenly, a waterfall, a swarm, an exclamation demanding attention; in order to find the relationship here we have to strain analogy to the breaking point.

(18) The source of this phenomenon is the coalescence of different forms by assimilation; we see in English that when two words have grown like in sound they tend to become one in form, especially if they come from different linguistic origins. This occurred most in the centuries immediately after the Norman Conquest, when the native Saxons and the Norman aristocracy, with their followers, had not fully amalgamated; each moulded the words of the other into the forms that were familiar to him. The same occurs in the history of the Maori language. And what increased the confusion here was the reduction of the elaborate phonology of the immigrants to the simple phonology of the aboriginals, and especially the reduction of the gutturals to k, the dentals to t, and the labials to p. We can imagine the vast museum of meanings under single forms in English, if either the Saxons or the Normans had been unable to differentiate p from b, and b from f, or d from t, and t from th. Yet this is what has happened in Maori. The result is an amazing collection of meanings under the same sound-form in hundreds, if not thousands, of cases. And the complication is increased by the inordinate love of figurative speech in the Maori race.

The difficulty of the philologist in disentangling the roots is enhanced tenfold by these two tendencies.

(19) One thing, however, comes out with great clearness; it is that the Maori language is the descendant of several languages and not of one. In short, there are as manifest signs of stratification in the Polynesian phonology as in the Polynesian people and manners and customs. The character of these seems to indicate that there have been at least two immigrations into the Pacific islands.

(20) The grammar points to an Aryan-speaking race as the source of one of the elements, if not more, for it shows traces of inflection, both internal and external, both prefixed and affixed, as all Aryan languages have done, and it has developed with ease on the same lines as modern European tongues. It has thrown off almost all the formal elements that speech can dispense with, and it has attained an absence of inflection and a simplicity of system that few tongues in the world but English have reached.

The Roots of Polynesian Words are Frequently Identical with Indo-European

(21) The vocabulary gives the same indications. When we strip cognate words of all the formative or changeable elements, we reach what philologists have called roots, fragments of from two to four letters with a fundamental sense, from each of which a series of words may be conceived to have grown. In Maori these roots are found to consist of one or two consonants and a vowel, like Aryan roots, and unlike the Semitic, which consist of consonants as the framework with vowels as the changing and formative elements. We may conclude, then, that no Semitic tongue has entered into the body of the Polynesian dialects.

(22) That the vocabulary has been influenced by one or

more Aryan tongues seems to be a by no means illogical conclusion when we examine the Polynesian roots; a large proportion of them are the same or almost the same as those common to most Indo-European tongues. A few examples will make the point clearer.

(23) In Maori we have the word anene (to blow softly like the wind); and the root ane (to blow or breathe) appears in many words all through the Polynesian dialects. The same root appears in most Aryan languages. It is the base of the Greek ἄνεμος (the wind), of the Sanskrit animi (to breathe), and it takes a development natural to the Aryan mind in the Latin animus (the mind) and anima (the soul).

(24) Another widespread root in Indo-European tongues is us (to shine or burn), appearing, for example, in Latin aurora, Greek ἑως (the dawn), our East, and Sanskrit ush (the morning). In Maori we have ao (the dawn, the day); and that an s has been lost is shown by the cognate Samoan aso (the day).

(25) To take another letter, the Polynesian root mu (to sound, to hum), appearing in Maori mumu (to hum), is clearly the same as the Aryan mu (to utter a slight suppressed sound), appearing in Greek μύζειν (to mutter), Latin mutire (to mumble), and musca (a fly), English midge, Latin mussare (to mutter), mugire (to roar), and murmurare (to murmur), and English mourn.

(26) When we take the Maori liquids, we are faced with the difficulty that r and l have interchanged and are still interchanging all through Polynesia, the preference in the islands being for l, and in New Zealand for r; but it is not a great difficulty, for the same interchange has taken place in Indo-European. For example, the Aryan ra (to rest, to be delighted, to love), appearing in Sanskrit ran (to rejoice), ram (to rest), and rati (pleasure), in Greek ἔρως (love), and English rest, is not far off in origin

from the root la (to yearn for or desire), which appears in Sanskrit lash (to desire), Latin lascivus, English lust, Latin libido, and English love. It seems much the same as the Maori reka (pleasant), rekareka (delighted), Hawaiian lea (joy, pleasure), and lealea (to delight in), and in the other sense of calm, in Maori whakaruru (sheltered from the wind), Tahitian rurua (a lull), and Hawaiian lulu (calm).

(27) Our English lull has no connection with this root, but meant originally to sing, to sleep, coming from Scandinavian lulla, and connected with Greek λάλειν (to speak). These all point back to an Aryan root, la or ra (to sound or utter sound), which appears in Sanskrit ras (to cry loudly), and ra (to resound), Latin latrare (to bark), lamentum, and loqui (to speak), and in English roar; they point also to a modified form of ru or lu, which appears in Sanskrit ru (to sound, to bray), Latin rudere (to roar), rumor, and raucus (hoarse), and Anglo-Saxon run (a mystic letter, but previously a whisper or secret).

(28) These are widely spread in Polynesian words: Maori rangi (a song or tune), Samoan lagi (to sing), Maori rango (a fly), Samoan lago (the housefly), from the sound it emits, Maori rongo (sound, noise, report, tidings), Samoan logo (to report), Tahitian roo (fame), Maori rorohu (to buzz), roria (a Jew's harp), reo (the voice, speech), ruri (a song), ruru (the New Zealand morepork).

(29) It is in the labial, dental, and guttural roots that there is sure to be most that is elusive. For in the Polynesian dialects the three varieties of each, the hard, the soft, and the aspirate, are generally reduced to one, and that is as a rule the hard; whilst Malay has retained two labials, two dentals, and two gutturals. The Samoan, the Tongan, and the Paumotan have g, and the Marquesan k where Maori and Rarotongan have ng, and Tongan has b where all the rest have p. All of them have rejected d, which Malay has

retained. They have kept some trace of the guttural aspirates in h, and of the labial aspirate in f or wh, but th has disappeared from all the Polynesian and Indonesian dialects.

(30) Yet even here we find roots that are identifiable with Indo-European. If we take the most elusive of the series, the guttural, there are many Polynesian and Aryan roots similar. There is the common Aryan root ki, or kei, or kai (to lie or reside), which appears in Sanskrit ci (to lie), in Latin quies (rest), and the Greek κεῖμαι (I lie), κοίτη (a bed), κωμη (a village), in Gothic haims (a village), heima (a home), and in English home and ham, the termination of so many village names. In Maori we have kainga a village, home, or place of abode.

(31) So the Maori kohu (to cook), kohua (a boiler, a Maori oven), are evidently in root to be identified with Latin coquere and our cook and kitchen. And the Maori koi (sharp), koinga (the edge), are from a root that is to be identified with the Indo-European ka (to sharpen), which appears in Sanskrit cana, Latin cos, and Scotch hone, each meaning a whetstone, Greek κῶνος (a cone), and Latin cuneus (a wedge).

(32) A few more may be given briefly: Maori koke (to creak), and koko (the tui), may be set beside the Sanskrit kakh (to laugh), Latin cachinnare, and English quack and cackle; Maori koko (an angle or corner), may be placed with Sanskrit kuch (to bend), and English hunch and huckle-bone; Maori koa (glad), may be put with Latin gaudium (joy); Maori hari (joy), and kohara (to shine forth), with Sanskrit ghri (to shine), and English glad; Maori kore (broken), with Sanskrit car (to break up), Latin clades (disaster), and gladius (a sword), and Anglo-Saxon here (a destroying army), whence comes the English harry (to ravage); Maori koro (a noose), may be placed with Latin circus, curvus, and corona, all implying something curved.

(33) These are taken almost at random from the Maori dictionary, and indicate a close connection between a large number of the primary roots in the Polynesian tongues and those in the Indo-European. And so great has been the predominance of Indo-European words and roots over those from alien sources that after reducing all the words in Maori, beginning with k and m, to their simplest and shortest common stems, one half at least of these were found to have similar meanings to those in Indo-European languages of the same form. It is noteworthy that the roots of Polynesian words are more often to be identified with roots that appear in European tongues than with roots that appear in Sanskrit only. It looks in fact as if the ancestors of one Polynesian migration had been longer in contact with the migrants who brought Aryan speech into western and southern Europe than with those who brought it into India. And if this is confirmed by careful investigation, it will prove that the Caucasian element that came from the north-west along the Japan-Ladrone-Caroline route was not only Caucasian in race, but Aryan in speech. Whilst the coincidence of Maori ruma (an apartment), used all through the Pacific in the sense of house, with the English room, of Maori poaka (a pig), a genuine Polynesian word, with Latin porcus, of hoanga (a whetstone), with Scotch hone, and Polynesian area (an open space), with European area will mean far more than derivation from the same root.

Every Indication Points to a Pre-Malayan Caucasian Race in Indonesia Speaking an Aryan Tongue

(34) But, whatever the meaning of these indications may be, we may be quite sure that the bulk of the Aryan roots in Polynesian came the other way, through Indonesia. For the extraordinary similarity, and often absolute coincidence, of

words in the Eastern Pacific dialects with words in the Indonesian, that led the first investigators to call all these tongues Malayo-Polynesian, is due probably to the influx of words from India into both regions. Sanskrit and the Hindoo dialects derived from it constitute the source of many of those common words. We know, of course, that in historical times Buddhist rulers held sway in Java and the adjacent regions, that a Brahmanic civilisation ousted them, to be ousted in its turn by the Mohammedan religion. But it is not to this migration of Indian culture into Indonesia that the influx of Aryan words into its dialects is mainly due. They came long before, in fact, in prehistoric times, by the sea route from the coasts of India, probably from Ceylon as the last stopping-place.

(35) The affinity of grammatical forms, of the words for numerals, of the phonology, and of a certain proportion of the vocabulary in the dialects spoken all over Indonesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, and Madagascar cannot be explained by the Malayo-Polynesian hypothesis that has held the ground for so long. For, as Mr. E. Tregear, in the introduction to his excellent "Maori Comparative Dictionary" says, "the bulk of the two vocabularies," Malay and Polynesian, is not the same in origin; and he has not been able to trace more than one per cent. of the words in Malagasy and Polynesian as having affinity. In Fijian, which has been greatly influenced by the Tongan and Samoan Archipelagoes, nearly a third of the words, he finds, are Polynesian.

(36) The hypothesis that would fit the circumstances would be the wide spread of a Caucasian people of Aryan speech by sea in pre-Malay times over the Malay Archipelago, and across both Melanesia and Micronesia into Polynesia. It is more than likely that this race came by sea into Indonesia from India, and not by land; for, by the latter route they would have left their traces on the languages and peoples on

the way. The pressure of conquest by the Sanskrit-speaking immigration from the north-west of India would drive as they advanced the sea-coast peoples out along the sea routes that they had already established for trade. And when the Aryan invaders won their way to the coast either on the north-west or the north-east of India, they would follow the tribes they had driven out across the oceans.

(37) But by this time the Mongoloids had reached Sumatra, and had begun to force the Caucasians or semi-Caucasians with their Aryanised language on to the sea to seek other homes, to the south-west in Madagascar, and to the south-east in Melanesia and Polynesia. These Mongoloids absorbed the Indonesians and the forms of their language, whilst adhering largely to their own vocabulary. And when Caucasianised and turned into Malays and sailors they made Sumatra their base, and from thence they conquered the peninsula that they had originally descended and ultimately abandoned.

(38) It is to this Indian pre-Buddhist migration by sea into Indonesia, caught on its flank by the Mongoloid incursion from the north, that the final migration into Polynesia is due. The Malays followed it in later centuries only as far as the west of New Guinea; no trace of their features or headform or the iron they used is found farther east.

CHAPTER IX

THE LAST MIGRATION INTO POLYNESIA

The Genealogies of the Race

(1) We have seen that the features of the Polynesian dialects point to India as the South Asiatic source of the last migration into the Pacific Islands, and a few centuries before the beginning of our era as its period. The investigations of Mr. Percy Smith, in his "Hawaiki," into the Polynesian genealogies throw most valuable light upon the subject.

(2) It has already been shown what elaborate care the various sections of this race took to preserve the records of the generations past. Being an agricultural people, and having, even from their starting-point on the continent of Asia, the village-community system of holding land, it was of the greatest importance for them that the claims of each family should be known minutely in each generation, so that disputes about them should not be a source of internal friction. One of the chief duties, therefore, of the families set apart as priestly was to hand on from father to son, or, by preference, from grandfather to grandson, the long lists of the chiefs and some of their distinguishing feats or characteristics to aid the memory. A special sacred family or caste, and a special sacred building, were essentials for the retention of such masses of names and facts through centuries without the aid of writing. What is, as many indications seem to imply, their kin, the Aryan race that spoke Sanskrit

and mastered India, had early in their career the same need of exceptional powers of remembering names and facts before they had any script; one generation had to transmit to the next a mass of matter that fills the many large volumes of the Vedic books. And it was doubtless this necessity, demanding as it did an abnormal development of memory, that evolved the Brahmin caste. But the Maoris were not satisfied with leaving it unwatched to the priestly families. The elders of every household in a village had the greater part of their genealogies and legends by heart, taught them to their grandsons, and could, as they sat in council, test the accuracy of the tohunga's recitations. And there had grown up the instinct in the race that, if any priest should make a mistake in his references to the past, as in his incantations, the gods would punish him by death or other misfortune.

(3) Mr. Smith was right, therefore, in laying great stress on the accuracy of these genealogies. And he has shown how those of two islands or groups of islands thousands of miles apart and out of communication for hundreds of years, though disagreeing in the lists of names, often confirm each other, inasmuch as at certain points they reveal identity of name at about the same number of generations in the past. He has used especially those from Hawaii, the Marquesas, Tahiti, New Zealand, and Rarotonga, but most of all one from the last island, which he got from its last high priest; for this goes back farther than any reliable genealogy except the Moriori from the Chatham Islands and one from the Marquesas. It has a little over ninety names or generations in it, and it has considerable agreement with other Rarotongan genealogies, one of which was communicated to the Rev. J. B. Stair as early as 1842.

THE ANCESTRY OF THE POLYNESIANS CAME TO JAVA A CENTURY OR TWO BEFORE OUR ERA, AND THERE CHANGED RICE FOR BREADFRUIT AS THEIR STAPLE FOOD

(4) After testing this, especially in its later series, by comparison with others, he takes it as a practical basis for the history of the Polynesian race during more than two thousand years. For he assumes twenty-five years as the average length of the generation, and this, multiplied by ninety-one, stretches from the middle of the nineteenth century to 450 B.C., a date he fixes on as the beginning of definite Polynesian history. To this earliest starting-point is attached a name that he takes as geographical, as, in fact, the name of the primal fatherland, Atia-te-varinganui, or shortly Atia, as it is put in the karakias of the Rarotongans. And these islanders in one of their traditions make vari the name of the food of the people when living in Atia. The meaning attached to this in Polynesian is earth or mud; but in Indonesia there are variants of it, pare, fare, in Malay padi and peri, and in Malagasy vari, all meaning rice. He therefore translates the full name "Great-Atia-covered-with-rice." Quoting from De Candolle's "Origin of Cultivated Plants," he shows that India is one of the primitive homes of the rice-plant, and Indonesia is not, whilst Java is the home of the breadfruit. Now, in Polynesian traditions it was in Hawaiki that two new foods were discovered, and the use of vari discarded; one was the breadfruit discovered growing in the mountains by Vaitakere, the father-in-law of Tangaroa, the other ii, probably the Tahitian ifi, ihi, or chestnut, discovered by Vaitakere's wife. And neither the breadfruit nor the chestnut is a native of Polynesia.

(5) The conclusion Mr. Smith draws from this is that the ancestors of the Polynesians left India two or three centuries

before our era, and brought rice with them into Indonesia; there they substituted breadfruit for it as their staple food, and two or more centuries after the beginning of our era migrated eastwards into the islands of the Pacific, bringing the breadfruit with them. He conjectures that they must have come by land, through Burmah southwards into Indonesia, and there become maritime in their character. By calculations of the generations, he fixes 65 B.C. as the date when Kura-a-moo of the genealogy migrated into Avaiki-te-Varinga, which he takes to be Java, or Hawa as it would be pronounced, with iki, a common Polynesian termination, added.

(6) No one who knows ethnology and anthropology will be inclined to dispute the conclusion that the Polynesians came from the coasts of Asia, or that at least one migration, most probably the last, came from the southern shores of that continent. Nor will any one who knows the difficulty of finding out the character of prehistoric civilisation incline to undervalue what seems a real discovery, the change in Polynesian history from rice-eating to breadfruit-eating. The revolution in the staple food means migration from a subtropical to a tropical climate, from swamp lands to mountain and forest lands. It means also contact and intercourse, if not intermingling, with a new type of people and civilisation, for it is inconceivable that the traditional food of a race should be suddenly abandoned on the first discovery of a wild fruit in the forests. Only a cultivated food could take the place of a cultivated food and drive it out, and then, too, only by a long and gradual process of habituation in close converse with the race that commends it and shows the way to its use. And, lastly, the revolution means a change in the fibre and tissue and muscle of the race; the chemical constituents of rice and breadfruit are so different that the living systems supported by them must be different, too. But the derivation of an ancient geographical name is uncertain evidence, especi-

ally as so many names of places are accepted from aborigines by immigrants. And there are at least half a dozen countries in Southern and Eastern Asia that have grown rice and had rice-eating inhabitants from prehistoric times.

Language and Ethnology are Surer Evidences of Origin

(7) Firmer ground is reached when affinity of race and even affinity of language is appealed to. There are tribes in Indonesia that have a strong resemblance to Polynesians, and the Indonesian dialects have a fair proportion of their vocabulary parallel, if not identical, with that of the Polynesian dialects. And much of this verbal community has close relationship to Sanskrit words, a fact that points to India as the true and primitive source of the resemblances.

(8) The ethnological ground is less sure. There are tribes in parts of Sumatra, Borneo, Gilolo, and Ceram that have distinctly Caucasian features. But these might well be the scattered remains of that neolithic Caucasian migration which traced the megalithic route through Southern Asia into Burmah, and then erected the huge monolithic monuments in Sumatra and Borneo, the former carved roughly into human features, that are quite unlike those of the Malay or Papuan people. This race must have come into Indonesia by land, and must be that which modified the Mongol features of the Burman and the Malay. And ages before, when the bridge from Asia to Australia was but little broken, palæolithic Caucasians must have entered this region. We cannot therefore take the presence of these Caucasian-like tribes in the islands of the archipelago as any proof that the ancestors of the Polynesians rested in them, unless some of them show distinctly Polynesian features. And that is undoubtedly the case with the inhabitants of the Mentawi Islands, off the

south-west coast of Sumatra, and some tribes on the north of Ceram. They are acknowledged by all travellers to be scarcely distinguishable from Polynesians.

(9) We may therefore accept these two as points on the route that the Polynesian migration took. Had they followed the land route they would have lost some of their linguistic and racial individuality before they reached Indonesia. The very fact that the last Polynesian migration is a unity when it reaches its Pacific home, if we are to trust the similarity, if not identity, of their mythologies, dialects, traditions, and genealogies, makes it almost a certainty that its route from its primitive continental home was wholly by sea. Nor could it have acquired its maritime and long-voyaging capacity under many centuries if it had been a land migration to begin with, unless by intermixture with, or rather absorption by, a race already maritime. Such a revolution as the transformation of a race of landsmen into a race of sailors cannot be the work of a century or two.

(10) We may take the Polynesian features of the Mentawi Islanders as a true waymark of the Polynesian migration, especially as the islanders to the north of them and the tribes on the opposite coast of Sumatra show no such resemblance. If they came from any of the coasts of India, the islands off the south-west coast of Sumatra would naturally be the first resting-place. And were geographical names to be relied on as a proof of race and origin, we might accept Ceram as a later resting-place, and the name of Ceylon as an indication that that island was an earlier ; for Ceram or Selan and Ceylon are practically the same word, and in old Maori traditions, according to Mr. Percy Smith, Herangi, identical with the Rarotongan Erangi and the Hawaiian Helani, is an ancient name of a land that the Polynesians came from. And, if geographical etymology were not uncertain ground, we might accept the name as Aryan in its origin, and a variant of

Zealand, or sea-land, the favourite Indo-European name for an island.

The Most Likely Starting-point was the Coast of the Punjaub

(11) Of one thing we may be sure, namely, that the ancestors of the Polynesians had been long immersed in maritime adventures before they reached Indonesia. And there is no part of the eastern shore of India that has protected waters, fiords, or straits extensive enough to nurse a far-voyaging people. The nearest coast of this type in the south of Asia is the mouth of the Indus and the Gulfs of Cutch and Cambay, to the south of the Punjaub. There it is possible that a race of sailors may have been reared in prehistoric times, especially as there are at no great distance the inland waters of the Persian Gulf, where on the Bahrein Islands the Phenicians learned their maritime skill and daring before they migrated to the shores of the Mediterranean. And we know that in the fourth century before our era Alexander's fleet kept up communications and supplies all along that coast when his army marched back from India, and, though he is said to have built a fleet up the Hydaspes or Jhelum for the purpose, this meant a large supply of ships and sailors and pilots native to these South Asiatic waters. The Macedonians were by no means a far-voyaging nation, and his admirals must, therefore, have found all the material and men for his fleet in the region. One of them, Nearchus, is said to have ventured as far as Sumatra in 323—he must have been induced by his Asiatic captains to follow the usual route of their expeditions and commerce—and his voyage proves that from the south coast of the Punjaub to the coast of Sumatra was a route easy and familiar, and hence traditional to the dwellers in that part of India.

(12) And there are historical indications of earlier intercourse between India and Indonesia. The Chinese had heard of people from India to the south of the Annam peninsula as early as 460 B.C. And a Phenician inscription in South Sumatra is assigned to the same period. Javan traditions, as quoted by Mr. Percy Smith, from Forlong's "Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions" (1897), make definite reference to large migrations from India in the third century before our era. According to these, Arishtan Shar led to Indonesia from the north-west of India 20,000 families, "most of whom dispersed en route, probably in Malabar, Maladiva, and Malagassar"; and ten years later a similar number of families migrated to Java from the Kling coast, that is, the north-east coast of India, "and established Vishnuism"; whilst in the beginning of the second century before our era "a large body of Desa Sagala from Panjab went to Java." The size of these migrations implies that they were armies meant to force a settlement for their families by conquest. And the transport of twenty thousand families, or close on a hundred thousand people, postulates enormous fleets of large ships or canoes accustomed to traverse the route from the north-west of India under skilled and trustworthy seamanship.

The Early Vedic System is the only Religion in South Asia to which the Polynesian Mythology shows any Affinity

(13) Had the ancestors of the Polynesians belonged to the expedition from the Kling coast in 290 B.C., we should have found in their religious ideas traces of full-blown Vishnuism; if not the names, at least the characteristics, of the new Hindoo gods. But Rangi and Papa, Tangaroa and Tane, Maui and Tawhaki have no kinship with Vishnu or

Siva. Nor is there any trace of Buddhism, which had taken root in North-east India in the fifth century before our era, and had reached Indonesia in the third. If we wish to find kinship in Polynesian religious myth and custom with things religious in India, we have to go back to Vedic times. The gods are still close to the phenomena of Nature that they symbolise. The priestly system is still in embryo. The worship is not far removed from the primitive Aryan definition of the features of the world around them, the elements, and the dead heroes and ancestors. Simple offerings of pastoral or agricultural produce form the chief part of the ceremonies. The language of the hymns and invocations is as often childish as childlike, and just as often imaginative, verging on the philosophical and mystic. There is no caste, not even a priestly. There are no cruel rites or fierce self-mutilations and tortures. There are no idols of monstrous form, before which monstrous sacrifices are made. There is no elaboration of ceremony or method of life, such as is codified in the laws of Manu. There is no development of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and none of heavens and hells as the instrument of discipline in the hands of an organised priesthood.

(14) In short it is the very earliest phase of Aryan religion in Southern Asia, as sketched in the Vedas, that gives us any point of contact between Indian and Polynesian religious ideas and customs, and not that all-penetrative spiritual despotism against which Gautama preached his crusade in the sixth century before Christ, and founded Buddhism. For any, even the faintest prototype of Polynesian worship we must go back to the entry of the Aryans into north-west India, some fifteen hundred years or more before our era. It was doubtless proximity to the oldest civilisation that we have yet unearthed relics of, that of the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris, that raised this eastern migration

from the primitive home of the Aryans on the European steps to so high a platform of culture as they show in the Sanskrit literature. It was intercourse with the old Babylonian and Assyrian race that brought the Persian contingent of the Aryan migrants eastward so early to the front. And nothing else can so well explain the quick ripening of Hindoo culture after the Aryans reached the Punjaub.

The Last Polynesian Migration did not come from a Semitic Country or Race

(15) Ages before they came so far south as India, there must have been some race of sailors established on the coasts of Scinde and Gujerat, maintaining intercourse by sea with the Semitic peoples around the Persian Gulf, if not themselves Semitic. And through the conquest and absorption of this it was doubtless that the Aryans in India came into touch with the sea. Long as they must have rested on the steppes as a nomad pastoral people, some instinct seems to have impelled them to the coasts; for almost every race of Aryan speech has made for the shore—the Greek, the Latin, the Celt, the Teuton, the Scandinavian, and to some extent the Persian—an indication that primevally they were bred around some inland sea.

(16) Some investigators have tried to show that the Polynesian is essentially Semitic in his language and culture, if not in his appearance. But they have been either missionaries who have been eager to find traces of Hebrew story, philosophy and custom, or theorists who were searching for confirmation of the idea that the first and most primeval Hawaiki was Saba or Sheba, the country of the far-voyaging Himyarites on the south-west coast of Arabia. As a matter of fact travellers have observed here and there throughout the Pacific faces that reminded them of the Jew. And there

is in the prevalence of magic and witchcraft amongst the Polynesians a distinct reminiscence of the old Assyrian religion; whilst in the customs and the language there are isolated features that suggest the Semitic. But this is the case with all folk customs and speech. And the fundamental character of the Polynesian language is un-Semitic. Its most constant, least shifting elements are the vowels, whilst in the Semitic tongues these are the consonants.

(17) If the ancestors of the Maoris came from the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf, there is nothing improbable in the idea that there is a Semitic vein in their nature and civilisation. But, if they were to begin with Semites, they must have been early mastered by a people that spoke an Aryan tongue, and early saturated with Aryan social, religious, and mythological ideas and methods of thought.

(18) But what militates especially against the theory that they came from some cultured Semitic nation either in the south of Arabia or in the Persian Gulf is the absence of writing. We find no trace of script or any means of recording their considerable literature amongst the Polynesians except in Easter Island away on their outermost border; and the gap of ten thousand miles between unmarked by anything like the Western alphabet or script is too great to be bridged, even if Easter Island writing had reached such a stage. The notches on the Maori genealogical sticks are mere tallies, and the tribal tattoo marks, the signatures of the chiefs to the treaty of Waitangi, and the rock paintings are only totemistic; that is, they roughly represent the animal or thing with which the tribe or person was closely connected. They are all ages behind the development of an alphabet. Now, if the Polynesians brought with them writing or any graphic method of handing down the traditions and histories and karakias, on the accuracy of which they laid so much stress, we may be certain they never abandoned it.

(19) And at the period that their ancestors left the continent of Asia the three Semitic peoples from whom they might have come—the Himyarites in the south of Arabia, the Assyrians in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and the Phenicians on the Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf, had already acquired the graphic art. Our alphabet comes through the Greek and Roman from these Semites, who many thousand years ago had begun to engrave on tablets what they were anxious to preserve.

(20) The same argument would bar their derivation from the Chinese, if there were any need of such disproof. For that people had also the art of recording permanently several thousand years before the migration left Asia.

(21) There was, in fact, no semi-cultured people with a cosmology and literature in the south of Asia without the art of writing about the time of the departure of the Polynesians, except the Sanskritic race, who had come into the Punjaub from the European steppes with an Aryan language. Their sacred compositions were handed down by memory from priest to priest, as the genealogies and the traditions and the rites were amongst the Maoris.

They found their way into the Pacific by the Central Route, passing South-eastwards along the North-east Coasts of New Guinea and Melanesia

(22) From whatever race or country on the continent of Asia they originated, the second stage of their progress can be traced without much dispute, though the date of it is not so clear. Mr. Percy Smith, interpreting the genealogies, seems to say that they left Indonesia two or three centuries after Christ. If this means Western Indonesia, Java, or Sumatra, then would they have brought iron with them, and

Vishnuism and Devanagari script, which had all reached Java before the beginning of our era. And we know that none of these came into Polynesia. It also conflicts with the date of the colonisation of Easter Island by Hotu Matua in the fourth century of our era. There is a choice of routes for a people migrating from the coasts of Sumatra or Java to the Eastern Pacific. They might pass along the shores of Borneo, either northern or southern, to the Philippines, and thence by the Caroline, Marshall, Gilbert and Ellice groups to Samoa. And that this was taken by a later migration into Micronesia after the Malays had mastered Indonesia and its Hindoo culture is shown by the ethnological vocabularies. Another route is by Timor, along the south of New Guinea to the New Hebrides and Fiji. And this must have been the route that one of the primary Caucasian migrations took in early neolithic times, when it emphasised the palaeolithic Caucasian modification of the primitive negroid physiognomy and character of the Australian, the Papuan and the Fijian. There is a third, the median route, along the south of Celebes and Gilolo, and the north of Ceram and New Guinea, through the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides and the Fiji group to Tonga or Samoa. This was undoubtedly their route. For not only do the genealogies and log-books as interpreted by Mr. Percy Smith indicate it, but both the ethnology and the dialects at points along the route reveal Polynesian affinities.

(23) But it must not be forgotten that till they reached their final centre of dispersion in Polynesia, probably Samoa, there was a unity and individuality in the race and the language that forbids the idea of long intercourse with aliens by the way. If they rested for a century or two at each of several points on their route, as Mr. Percy Smith thinks their genealogies and logbooks indicate, then it must have been amongst peoples Caucasianised by previous immigration.

For, though there do appear amongst the Polynesians features that are manifestly negroid, they never go with the frizzly hair that marks the Papuan, nor is their occurrence by any means strikingly frequent. Such long voyages as they must have made from point to point on their route suggest piratical or adventure expeditions rather than complete migrations of a people. There is nothing to lead us to suppose that the warriors and sailors took their women and children with them on most of these long voyages of adventure. And we can see from their traditions that it was the habit of the race to marry in the island they touched at or settled in. It was only when war or other disagreement rent the community in two that the minority had to leave with all their households to find another home. To explain the comparative purity of the race in physiognomy and physique we may take it for granted, then, that they found in their resting-places on their way from Indonesia, people that were not unlike themselves, because of previous Caucasian infiltration. And there they left faces and dialects that are markedly Polynesian; on the south-east coast of New Guinea and in Sikayana, off the Solomon Islands, these are to be found.

There are Traces of the Negroid even amongst the Upper Classes

(24) They must have brought some mixture of negroid blood with them. For the nose in many Polynesians is flattened, though it is never squat and wide-nostrilled; and in not a few islands the flat nose is favoured as the aristocratic. This latter fact alone would prove that it was the last newcomers or conquerors that brought in the negroid features with them, whilst the people they found in the islands had no Papuasian or Melanesian blood in them. The ideal of

beauty is always set by the ruling class, and though the finest type of European faces might, according to all early voyagers, find their match in these islands of the Pacific, these were not the most admired by the dusky races, just as the fair skin that sometimes appears amongst them was not admired. The last aristocracy of conquerors brought with them the brown complexion of South Asia, and in many cases the flat nose of the negroid that they had picked up by marriage in Papuasia or Melanesia. And hence the nose of beauty was flat, and the skin of adults was darkened by tattooing.

(25) There are many other evidences that go to show how the slightly negroid features sometimes seen amongst Maoris and Polynesians came with the last or South Asiatic migration. But this is one that cannot be gainsaid. The strange thing is that so many books on the subject repeat the fallacy that it is only the lower classes that reveal the negroid features. This has arisen from *a priori* reasoning. They have assumed that there was an aboriginal negroid people before the Polynesians arrived, and as these must have been the conquered, it is argued that the negroid features must belong only to the lower classes. Had this been the case, we should never have found the dark skin and the flattened nose as two main points in the ideal of beauty. The ancient palaeolithic and early neolithic Caucasianism that overspread the negroid archipelagoes had helped to raise the bridge of the Papuan and Melanesian nose and turn the wool into crisp hair. But there were evidently flattened noses enough left to impress themselves on the features of the leaders of the South Asiatic expeditions into Polynesia. Hence the Melanesianism in Polynesia, and the flat nose in the Polynesian ideal of beauty.

CHAPTER X

POLYNESIAN RELIGIOUS AND MYTHOLOGICAL IDEAS

The Evolution of Religion and Myth

(1) Religion is the effort of the human mind to make truce with the phenomena, or, later, the problems that press in upon it, mysterious or half-understood. And primitive man has naturally but a limited horizon. The stocks and stones that obstruct him or aid him in his hunt for food are at first more real and immediate to him than the sun or stars, or heaven, or the ancestry he has hidden away in the earth. Out of them he makes his tools and weapons, and as rocks and mountains, or as forests, they bar his way to the satisfaction of his appetite. And where the struggle for life is in its essence one for bare subsistence, these are supreme over all phenomena and conditions. We need not hesitate, then, to accept fetichism as the primal religious attitude of the human mind, the system that deifies anything that comes to hand.

(2) And this is confirmed by the evidence of childhood, that rough, shorthand record of primeval history. The first attitude of the infantile mind to things is almost the same as its attitude to living beings. Long before the time of dolls it resents the wounds that things seem to inflict, and accepts their aid as benignant. Everything that enters its narrow sphere is dealt with as alive, to be punished or rewarded, like its nurse or its mother. It, in short, transfers its own personality to all the phenomena that come within

the range of its senses. And those that seem powerful to hurt or confer benefits are to it as gods.

(3) As the world of the child and the primitive man expands their Olympus expands too. The moving, shifting phenomena around them, the fountains, the streams, the waves, the raindrops, the mists, the trees, and flowers and the animals, are sources of wonder—that mother of both religion and philosophy. They seem to have personality and life, and can confer and withhold favours. They are not mere symbols and representatives of gods, but very gods themselves. This is the worship of the lesser features of Nature.

(4) Still the horizon widens, and the great and impressive processes of Nature, the storm and the tide, the thunder and the earthquake, add omnipotence to their idea of deity. No less living and real seem these sublime phenomena than the features of their landscape and life, that have been familiar friends as well as divinities to them. And their religious thoughts begin to fix even on the less mobile sublimities of Nature, the heaven above and its stars, the moonlight and the sun. Still though these seem to be, their vastitude strikes the imagination, and induces awe. Hence comes a loftier type of reverence and religion.

(5) And perhaps before this, perhaps contemporaneously with it, death has left its solemn inspiration on the threshold of the soul. Led by his twin-brother, sleep, with his dream retinue, he erects shrines for those who have passed away, and makes them still-living divinities. The spirit in visions of the night seems to wander far from its physical tenement. And when the eyes close in the final sleep, and the great darkness comes, the same thing occurs: the spirit has gone a long journey; it must have commissariat and retinue; and food is offered on the grave, and slaves and even wives are sacrificed, that they may accompany it on its way.

Hence the warmer and more human religion of ancestry-worship, with its tales of the past and its genealogies.

(6) From this the personal element creeps into the Nature-worships. Personification of the lesser and greater features and processes of existence arises. Allegorical story and legend gather round the names of the Nature-deities. They become living flesh and blood like the worshippers themselves. They love and hate, wrangle and scold, war and make treaties; they eat each other, if their makers are cannibals; they are as gross or as cultured as their *clientèle*, as criminal or immoral, as imaginative or intellectual. They are "touched with like passions." The only difference between a tribe's or nation's pantheon and its own life is that the gods are stronger or greater or less subject to accident, and can elude one or more of the senses.

(7) Some of the ancestral spirits, the great and heroic, join them. And thus the line grows difficult to draw between the home of the gods in the sky and the home of the spirits of men in the darkness beneath the earth. Yet there is ever an upper world and an under world beyond the immediate ken of the senses.

(8) A final stage of primitive religion is the philosophical. The mind begins to work on its own creations, and in trying to find out the origin of the world as it is, has also to account for the gods, their state, and relationships to the world. This is the cosmology of a religion, and is a sign that the race in its higher intellects is about to break away from the trammels of the old faith, and to rise above it. It is out of this that monotheism grows, if the tribal divisions have reached any national unity under a ruler. If there is no monarchical government as a model, philosophy gradually rejects Olympus, and accepts the world of common sense, or a world of mystic meaning in its place.

The Polynesian Religion mingles all Stages

(9) Wherever we find two or more of these stages intermingled, we may be sure that there has been a crossing of races or tribes with different culture-developments. It is perfectly true that at least two of them co-exist in most peoples that have got beyond the merely savage. But this only means that few or no peoples have ever risen to anything that can be called culture without cross-breeding. Genealogies and all the birth-paraphernalia that belong to an aristocracy encourage the fiction that the conquering or dominant race is pure. No fiction could stand less investigation than this. For the race that is pure never advances. Crossing produces the competitive types that mean progress and ultimate dominance in the struggle for life. We may therefore accept the co-existence of any two or more of these stages of religious thought and feeling as evidence of the intermixture of races or tribes.

(10) Now if there is one feature that distinguishes Polynesian religion more than another, it is its inconsistent, and often contradictory, phases. We have the purely fetichistic stage, not only in the system of tapu, but in the kura or sacred stones, which had the power of communicating divinity to new objects. They were generally only round stones from the beach or the brook. And all over the islands of Polynesia similar stones were worshipped or used as talismans or amulets. The artificial stones sculptured into the form of some living thing, generally the human form, like the kumara gods, belong to a much later stage of religious development. They imply the reactive power of advancing culture, the power to mould that which is worshipped, to represent in material form that which has appealed to the imagination. And it soon leads to a temple or pro-

tection for the divine images, an elaborate ceremonial and a priesthood.

(11) The Indo-European peoples who spoke the primitive Aryan tongues on the Euro-Asiatic steppes between the Baltic and the Black and Caspian Seas had not reached this stage of image-making and temple-building, before they scattered to the four quarters. And the Maoris have not only these images, as for example that of Kahukura the rainbow-god set up in the porch of the school of the priests, but they have the imageless, templeless worship of the Aryan nomads. The priests could set up an altar wherever they were, and they generally preferred the open air for their ceremonies and incantations, whilst there were certain gods that could be worshipped only in the open air; their names were not to be spoken, their rites were not to be mentioned except in the forest or in the solitudes of the mountains. This takes us back to the description of the Teutonic worship given by Tacitus in his "Germania": "They think it unfitting the might of celestials to pen the gods within walls or counterfeit them in human likeness. Groves and forests they consecrate." Temples they afterwards had, and images too. But the earlier Teutonic religion was that of the Aryan nomads, open-air and imageless. Even the Vedic religion, when we first meet it in the Punjaub, is more advanced than this; it has elaborate hymns composed by Rishis or seers; its ritual has got beyond the stage of spontaneous worship in the household or the forest. It is developing a priesthood that alone knows how to please the gods with sacrifices and conduct the rites.

The Maori Ideas resemble the Teutonic more, yet with South Asiatic Elements

(12) The templeless, imageless, grove-haunting side of Maori religion points more to the northern migration into

Polynesia than to the southern. The pre-Japanese, pre-Aino people, who built the dolmens and mounds in Korea and Japan, might well have been a section of that northern or Teutonic migration from the Euro-Asiatic steppes that spread the Aryan dialects and creeds over the north and west of Europe. And like their European kin they might well have learnt the megalithic art from their Caucasian predecessors, and down in the eastern groups of Polynesia they kept up the combination of open-air worship and the megalithic habit in those great maraes or stepped and truncated pyramids of colossal stone-blocks, on which the Tahitians and the Marquesans served their gods with sacrifices up till the time the missionaries arrived. The fetichistic phase of the Polynesian religion belongs to a far more primitive people, just as the image-making and temple-building phase belongs to a people more advanced in culture.

(13) The colossal stone statues of Easter Island, and the wooden figures of the great Maori carved houses belong to quite a different religious stage. They are not images in the strict sense of the term. They are memorial forms like the busts and figures in our cemeteries. They are meant to recall some ancestor, to give his memory a more lasting form than thought or emotion; and yet they will not make it trivial by reducing the form to mere human proportions; hence the angelic wings on the modern tombstone, the gigantic size of the Easter Island busts, and the monstrous features of the Maori ancestral figures. They belong to that stage of religious evolution which lays great stress on the ancestral spirit. There was little of this in the Vedic religion as it comes upon the stage of history in the Punjaub. Ancestor-worship had vanished; there were still family rites, but they were overshadowed by the public cult of the great national gods, the embodied powers of Nature. The Polynesian still retained the power of deifying, or at least divinising, ancestors,

that belonged to the primitive Aryans and to the people of the megalithic monuments, and though they learned to carve memorial images of the greater ancestors or heroes, they never used them as idols or objects of worship, and this again affiliates them to the early religious attitude of the Aryan-speaking peoples.

(14) But there was also a phase of their religion that shows close affinity to the peoples of Southern Asia. This was the magic and witchcraft that the tohungas dealt in. This makutu was closely interwoven with the life of the people. It belonged to the last-comers rather than to any of the aboriginals or tangata whenua. It is true that some of the fairy peoples, like the Ponaturi, are described as dealing in magic rites and incantations. And it is not unlikely that they represent an earlier South Asiatic migration. But the fair-skinned Patupaiarehe or fairies, who seem to have occupied especially the north of the North Island, have no karakias or incantations, and are evidently free from all that sorcery which distinguishes the South Asiatic races, like the Assyrian. It is not an unlikely thing that some of those older inhabitants of New Zealand, and doubtless of Polynesia, may have had intercourse with peoples bordering on the Persian Gulf; and the intermingling on their borders may have given the Semitic hooked nose and general Semitic physiognomy that is sometimes seen on the islands, and not infrequently amongst the Morioris of the Chatham Islands; and they may have emphasised in the ultimate religion of Polynesia that element of sorcery which belongs in a rude or elementary form to all religions.

In Ancestor-Worship and Maritime Demigods there is the same General Resemblance

(15) There is a similar medley of elements and stages in what one might call the literary or imaginative side of Maori

religion—the myths and personified religious thoughts. No people has so manifestly indulged the imagination in its treatment of ancestral tradition as the Maori. Their genealogies alone would prove this; they have no shamefacedness in yoking up their aristocratic families by means of definite names and generations to the great gods that are clearly in their origin the sublimer phenomena of the cosmos. The line is as unambiguous and decided in its baldness as those supplied by the Heralds' College for new-made families. There is as little hesitation in the early links that bind together gods and men as in those of grandfather and grandson, where memory is guide. Little wonder that chiefs like Te Heuheu of Taupo should claim to be themselves gods whilst still living.

(16) It is this ancestral deification that is responsible for so much that is refreshingly human in the annals of Olympus, especially amongst the European divisions of the Aryan race. All races and nations indulge in it; but the Teutons, the Celts, the Greeks, and the Polynesians excel in its use. For amongst them no great imperial unity forced into the background the god-forming right and duty of every locality and clan. The necessity of national defence or offence in war obscures, if it does not obliterate, the old ancestral worship of the household, and at the same time the myth-making faculty that produces a pantheon of demigods.

(17) The Polynesian demigods have most resemblance in their lives and deeds to those of Scandinavia. Although Tawhaki, with other later humanised editions of him, has a hint of Endymion visited by the moon in the story of the heavenly maiden's visit to him, his character as a perfect and beautiful hero has more likeness to that of the northern hero Baldur. So Maui, though, like Prometheus, he brings fire to men from the other world, and tries to snatch immortality for them, and though he goes through a series of labours,

like Hercules, has in his nature far more of the northern Loki; he is full of a wicked humour, if not wit, that never ceases playing mischievous tricks on both gods and men; moreover, Loki, Scotch lowe, is in origin, like Maui, a firegod or sungod. Further, the demigod voyagers that abound in Polynesian traditions and genealogies, Whiro, Kupe, Turi, Ui-te-Rangiora, Tangiia, and a dozen others remind us far more of the half-mythical Scandinavian vikings who sailed to Iceland and Greenland and Vinland, and many places that are not identifiable by modern geography, than of the wanderings of Ulysses narrated in the "Odyssey." Yet there is a likeness and kinship in all three types that seem to indicate some primeval proximity in the peoples that evolved them. Of course, they have each local colour that differentiates them, and the affinity may be due to the similarity of the regions and circumstances in which they were evolved. But there are other maritime peoples in similar conditions, like the Phoenicians, the Arabs, the Carthaginians, the Malays and the Japanese, that have not developed a similar series of heroic voyagers.

Aryan and Polynesian Culture looks to the Cold North, and so does the Myth of the Discovery of Artificial Fire

(18) Such sea-adventurers and sea-adventures point in each case to northern origin, to a climate that, with its rigorous winters, induced a strenuous life. And it is now generally accepted by philologists that the Aryan language was originally moulded in the north temperate, if not sub-Arctic, zone, and the Baltic Sea, with outliers to the Black Sea, is usually chosen as the starting-point of the Asiatic Aryans, the Greeks and the Latins, when they hived off southwards. The tongues of that region are too much alike ever to have been widely

separated or to have migrated from Asia, and both Sanskrit and Persian are too advanced, when they come on the scene, not to have travelled far and come into contact with more cultured peoples. Then the animals whose names are common to the various Indo-European languages, bear, beaver, boar, deer, dog, duck, fox, goose, lynx, mouse, otter, wolf, eagle and swan are chiefly those of the European colder zone; the trees and fish whose names are common point in the same direction, whilst the common vocabulary shows familiarity with the sea and marine animals. And the following description of the original land of the Aryans in the first chapter of the Persian sacred book, the "Vendidad," confirms the indications: "The winter months are ten, and the months of summer two, and these cold for the waters, cold for the earth, cold for the trees, and winter falls there with the worst of its plagues." It reminds us of the passage that was quoted in the sixth chapter from the Easter Island inscription. The division of the year into winter and summer, with stress laid on winter, and the reckoning of time by nights, and not by days, all of which are common to the Polynesians and the European Aryans, have a similar significance; they were not originated in the tropics, where winter is not markedly distinguished from summer, and the nights do not impress by their length. Raumati, the Maori name for summer, sometimes translated "the time of leaves," is not a distinctive name for the season in a land of evergreen forests. It is the natural epithet in a region of leafless winters.

(19) All this is doubly emphasised in the mythology of not only the Indo-Europeans, but the Polynesians. In all of them there is the record of the greatness of the revolution in life achieved by the discovery of the artificial production of fire. Prometheus, the Greek fire-bringer, snatches it from heaven in a fennel-stalk, and is sorely punished for his act. Maui, the Polynesian fire-bringer, gets the secret of making

fire from the goddess of artificial fire, Mahuika, the sister of The Great Lady of Darkness, and after being almost consumed in the conflagration of land and sea that she starts in consequence, he throws the seeds of fire into the kaiko-mako, the soft-wooded tree from which the Maoris take the under or grooving stick for making fire. They have another goddess of the under-world, Hine-i-Tapeka, for natural or volcanic fire. And thus the race emphasised the difference between that which they could produce and that which they found in New Zealand, and indicated that it was in no volcanic land that their ancestry first learned the secret of fire. And though they had a mechanical drill for boring holes in green-stone, they adhered to the much more primitive method of rubbing one stick along another that is held firm on the ground.

(20) Up till the time of European matches it was continued, and the under stick was held firmly by a woman, who placed her foot upon it. And this, added to the fact that the two deities of fire in the under-world are goddesses, seems to be a relic of the matriarchate, when women were dominant in the household and were the arbiters of heredity and rights. The downfall of "mother-rights" is clearly indicated by the assignment of the rule of the circles or zones of Po or the under-world to goddesses, whilst those of heaven have gods to govern and direct them. It is the mark of a discarded or conquered religion that its deities are tumbled into hell or the under-world as giants or demons. When women were the pivot of the property and rights of a race, Olympus must have consisted of goddesses. When the patriarchate took their place, their divine counterparts were relegated to the lower world.

(21) But in the mythological history of the races of Polynesia this dethronement took place before the discovery of firesticks. For Maui has to descend to the under-world to bring back the secret from the goddess, who kept it from men. In other words the matriarchate must belong to a period in the history

of the Polynesians, as in the history of the Caucasians, that is separated from our era by thousands, if not tens of thousands of years; for artificial fire goes back with them into early palaeolithic times. And the fire-bringing episode in the stories of Prometheus and Maui must go back almost as far. One of the most impressive facts about the antiquity of Polynesia and its isolation is this: it is the only region in the world that has preserved this primitive method of producing fire; all others have the drill of one kind or another, or as a variant the method of striking out fire. The firesticks do not belong to India or Indonesia—another proof that the majority of the people in Polynesia cannot have come with the last or South Asiatic immigration.

(22) Nor would we be far wrong in localising the discovery of artificial fire in north temperate or sub-Arctic regions, or at least in regions frozen by the advancing ice-sheet. In the warm zones fire is not a necessity of primitive man, but a luxury. The easy-won fruits and nuts of most tropical regions would make cooking almost a superfluity. Necessity is undoubtedly the only mother of invention in primeval times; and so we may take it for granted that artificial fire, and cooking too, appeared first in the zones of the wintry north, and found their way to the tropics with migrant and probably conquering peoples. At first cooking must have been done in the open air because of the smallness of the huts, and the danger to them, if made of reeds or wood. The custom of cooking in an open shed or in the open air, still common amongst the Maoris, is a relic of this primeval stage, preserved by the women of the aborigines taken into the households. The habit was firmly established before their ancestry had advanced far enough to build large houses capable of having fires and hearths in them. The hearth as a centre of family and social life is another feature of northern origin, where the winters make it of extreme importance. The home-life

that is so characteristic of the Teutonic nations, as contrasted with the Latin and southern nations, is based on this. But the myth of Prometheus shows that the Greeks migrated from the north. And, though the fire-bringing episode of Maui's life might have come from the Aryans of the Punjaub, we see in the growth of their myths and worship the lessening importance of fire in the warmer zone to which they had come; and it is more likely to have accompanied the migrants from the North Pacific. By either route the sea nurture of the infant Maui is easily explained, though in the Manahiki group it is to Tangaroa that Maui goes to discover the secret of fire; and Tangaroa is in Polynesia the fair god of the fair-haired sea-haunting people, who were driven out or absorbed by the newcomers from South Asia.

Some of Maui's Feats Explained

(23) But his exploit in noosing the sun and compelling him to go slower, and so to lengthen the day, is best attributed to the North Pacific immigrants. There would not be much difference made in the day by sailing from South Asia into Polynesia (and the episode belongs to Polynesia, and not to New Zealand alone); the migration from the north to the tropics offers a natural and easy rationale of the seemingly absurd story. The only other tribes that have this story of noosing the sun in their mythology are the North American Indians, though there are traces of it in North Germany and Hungary; and the peoples of these regions all migrated from the north. In spite of Maui's phase as a fire-bringer, that must date far back in palaeolithic times; he is best looked on as a culture-hero and migration leader of the northern element in the Polynesian race. The story of his mischievous and humorous exploits would be as welcome to the children in the households of the conquerors as it would be ready to the lips of the conquered women.

(24) His feat in fishing the various islands out of the depths of the sea is natural to a people that lives in archipelagoes of volcanic origin, where an island may appear and disappear within a short period. But this feature belongs to Indonesia and the Japanese Archipelago alike, as it does to parts of Polynesia itself. So the story of his effort to obtain immortality for man by re-entrance into the womb of Hine-nui-te-po, or The Great Lady of Darkness, has close kinship with similar descents into Hades or hell in Greek and in Teutonic mythology. And it might have come either route, though its absence from Hindoo mythology in any comparable form might indicate that it belongs to the northern immigration.

(25) It is generally taken as a much-obliterated sun-myth, as most of those stories of descents into the darkness of the under-world are, and they are frequent in many branches of Aryan-speaking peoples. What seems especially to mark it as a sun-myth is the laughter of the piwakawaka, or pied fan-tail, that by waking The Great Lady of Darkness caused the failure of Maui's effort to gain immortality: he is the bird that welcomes the night. All these sun-myths have doubtless their origin in the north, where the long winter makes the coming of the sun in his strength so welcome. A tropical or even sub-tropical origin is difficult to understand; for in hot climates the sun is perhaps the greatest commonplace of life; it is ever with the inhabitants, and is no more likely to be specially singled out for beneficence than the air they breathe. The Sanskrit-speaking Aryans reached the Punjaub with Varuna, the Heavens, as the highest of their deities, and all the gods that had originated in sun-worship high in their pantheon. In India these fell gradually into the background, and the gods of the thunder and the rainshower and the storm took their place, to be thrust out in their turn by the new local gods like Vishnu and Siva.

CHAPTER XI

POLYNESIAN THEOGONY AND MYTHOLOGY

SUN-MYTHS

(1) WE saw in the last article how many of the Maori heroes and demigods resemble the Aryan demigods of the sun-myths, and how these sun-myths look to the cold north. And we saw in the warmer climate of India the gods of the storm and rain had displaced the old sun-gods. So in Polynesia Rangi was dethroned by Tane and Rongo and Tu, the gods of the forest, cultivated food, and war; his cult had already obscured the still more ancient worships of Ra, the sun, and Io, the Supreme, and Tangaroa, the god of the sea; and it was overshadowed in turn by that of Tawhaki and Kahukura, and a multitude of other gods. It is quite clear that sun-worship, though relics of it continued obscurely in unobserved corners of Polynesia, was, in India, a primitive phase of religion that had belonged to other lands and zones of climate.

(2) But here the subject is made difficult by the probability of two routes of sun-worship from the north, one from the Baltic zone though the Caspian steppes and South Asia, the other from the same region through Southern Siberia and the Japanese Archipelago. Thus it is that in the Maori gods and myths we get a far greater complication of sun-gods and light-gods and fire-gods than in Teutonic or Greek or Hindoo, or in fact any, mythology. Besides the Maui series of stories,

which has for nucleus a sun-myth, there are three or four strata of sun-incarnations. Rangi is the shining heaven, like Varuna and Zeus and Jupiter, and Tyr of the Icelandic Eddas. He takes a larger place in New Zealand mythology than in any of the tropical islands; in some the word implies nothing but heaven; in one or two Vatea, the daylight, takes his place. His name in the form Raki means North, and this seems to indicate the primeval route of the people that deified him.

(3) Of his rebel children, who divide him from Papa, his wife, Tu is the boldest leader, and, as the architect and builder of the heavens in the eastern groups, reveals his origin as a sun-god too. Even in New Zealand he lets in light upon existence by dividing the heaven from the earth. Amongst the Samoans and the Maoris he becomes the god of war, and amongst the latter is one of the most feared and worshipped of all the deities. The evolution of the Teutonic Ziu or Tiw, whence our Tuesday gets its name, from a sun-god, in origin the same as the Greek Zeus and the Sanskrit Dyaus, into a god of war is a very striking coincidence. Rongo, though originally by his name the god of Sound or Fame, was sometimes in New Zealand identified with the rainbow, in Hawaii often took the place of Tane as the god of light, and in the Marquesas was evolved from light after it was born from darkness. In New Zealand he was driven with Haumia into Hades by Tane, for the part they took against their father Rangi; and he and Tu brought evil into the world. He is ultimately the god of the kumara and all foods that are cultivated in the soil. Tawhiri is the god of storms, who punishes the other children of Rangi for impiety; he combines the powers of Woden and Thor or Thunor, originally storm-gods in Teutonic myth. And Papa, or Mother Earth, has her Teutonic counterpart in Herthus, a name that, according to Tacitus, was given by the German tribes to Terra Mater.

(4) Tangaroa, like Neptune, whom the Romans probably adopted from the maritime Etruscans, and the Greek Poseidon, is god of the ocean; and in Mangaia, as yellow-haired and the patron of the fair-haired, he is evidently a dethroned god of the fair Caucasian aborigines from the north; whilst in the eastern groups he has suffered the ultimate fate of the gods of a conquered people, and is thrust into the night of the under-world; he is the god of Darkness, and, along with Silence, is mastered by Atea (Light) and Rongo (Sound). He is an evil god, and in the struggle with him Dawn is born, and, as wife of the conqueror, Light, brings forth the lesser gods and also men. In the western groups he reveals his origin as a sun-god; in New Zealand he is the Son of Heaven, and marries Te Anumatao, or Bitter Cold, thus pointing again to the north; in Samoa he is the son of cloudless heavens, and yet he made the heavens; in Manahiki he is the fire-god, from whom Maui snatches the secret of fire; in Tonga he is the lord of thunder and lightning, and also the god of the arts and of foreigners; and in Tahiti he is the creator of gods and men, and he is the Light; he dwells in space, uncreated. In fact, all these gods are in one group or another anterior to creation, uncreated.

(5) His dethronement in the east, and his confusion with Maui in the west, along with his being the god of foreigners and the god of the fair-haired, clearly makes him one of the great deities of the Caucasians from the north. One curious invention attributed to Maui, that of the barb for the hook, Ratzel homes to the North Pacific, and this would make him a northward-pointing deity. And Judge Wilson gives names of tribes that "claim to be descended from Maui, and not from the Hawaiki Maoris," that is, the South Asiatic immigrants.

(6) There is a later stratum of fire-deities, who take charge of the zones of heaven. Rehua, the name of a star, rules

the four upper circles as the Ancient One; he was the son of Rangi, and, according to one legend, the first who kindled fire. Tawhaki, and Apollo or Baldur of Polynesia, rules the three next circles, and Maru, to whom the planet Mars is sacred, the three lowest.

Ra, a Primeval Sun-deity from the North

(7) But the most undisguised sun-god is Ra. For the name is still used throughout the whole of Polynesia as a common noun, meaning the sun. He is a god in most groups, and, though uncreated, takes a subordinate place in their mythology and worship. In fact, it is difficult to find traces of this deity. Mr. E. Tregear, in his "Maori Race," gives an extremely interesting account of his worship, as collected by Mr. Nelson, of Whakarewarewa. His festival was annual; the heaps of food were arranged in a heptagon, with fires at each angle round a central fire, that was meant for the sun, and in this latter human sacrifice was burnt. That this is the "first published description of the sun-feast" shows how obscure the festival and the worship were. In Maori mythology Ra is son of Haronga and sister to Marama, the moon, and in winter he lives in the ocean with Hine-takurua, or Winter, and in summer on land with Raumati, or Summer.

(8) A curious light is thrown upon his origin and his festival by a reference in Tregear's "Maori Race" to the stone circle at Kerikeri, Bay of Islands. He says these stones were "anciently used in sun-worship"; "they were used as posts, around which pyramids of food were piled at the ancient feast of Ra, the Sun." It seems to confirm Sir Norman Lockyer's theory of the use of these megalithic monuments, as developed in some articles on Stonehenge recently published in "Nature." These colossal stones were originally mortuary in their purpose; but they were in many places afterwards used and even built as altars or temples. And he seems to prove from the position

of the various solitary stones in Stonehenge that the worship was solar. If, then, one wave of population came the northern route into Polynesia, as the colossal-stone monuments seem to indicate, this is no insignificant confirmation of the theory, and seems to imply that the Ra worship came from the north, with the megalithic people.

South Asiatic Mysticism and Tendency to Monotheism are Evident in the more Obscure Worships

(9) But there is an esoteric phase of Polynesian religion that must come from the south of Asia, and by preference from Northern India. It is the religion that is hinted at in those magnificent fragments of mystical, semi-metaphysical poetry that White gives as headings to the earlier chapters of his "Ancient History of the Maori," and also to some extent in the hymns of Hawaii and the Marquesas, and in the poetry and myth collected by Wyatt Gill in the Hervey group. Here we have the ideas of the later Vedic or earlier Hindoo religion, when Buddhism was about to be begotten, and the idea of a supreme and only God struggled with half-scientific, half-crude ideas that philosophised the origin of the universe and man, when, in short, monotheism struggled with a philosophic pantheism. For Buddhism was not merely a revolution and reform from excess of ceremony and priesthood, but an evolution. There was even in the early Vedic religion a tendency to single out one god or another as supreme, and this grows as we approach the birth of Buddhism. It is this tendency that is apparent in the Polynesian religious poetry. It speaks of "the One Supreme" and "the soul of the Supreme," the "soul of power, soul of earth and heaven," "above in all creation's space." This is undiluted Hindoo philosophy of the half-dozen centuries before our era, when the Olympus of mythology and the paraphernalia of ceremonial and priesthood threatened to fall

into ruins, and before the pantheon of Vishnuism and Sivaism, with the versions of old aboriginal gods and their cruel rites, arose.

(10) The one doubt that enters the mind is that these fine relics of a higher religious world came from Christianised Polynesia, and chiefly from Christianised priests, who felt, like the writers of the "Edda," that, though the old gods were silenced and sad, they had still power of life and death over them, and were stimulated by the pathos and romance of the pantheon they were abandoning to sublimate it with the ideas they had acquired from the new religion and its teachers. But over against this doubt must be placed the rare and obscure references to an ancient and primal deity, called in New Zealand and Mangaia, Io, and in Tahiti, Ihoiho, who was before all creation, and, as far as one can see, precedent to the whole of the Polynesian Olympus. White says: "The oldest Maori prayers were those addressed to the sacred Io." In Mangaia, although the word means generally "a god," it also means "the core," like Maori "iho," and "the soul"; whilst Motoro, who was called "Te Io Ora," or "The Living Spirit," was distinguished from other gods by having no human or living sacrifices offered to him. In New Zealand the primevally savage and commonplace and the sublimely mystical shoulder each other with regard to this god, as in so many features of their life. Io was the name given to omens taken from the involuntary twitching of any part of the body. And again, he is the subject of ecstatic religious imagination, as for example in an incantation to him at the planting of the kumara:

O god of man! Deprive my enemies of power.
O Io! O god of man!

O Io! O cloud! Descend from Rehia, and lightnings flash,
Whilst I my offering make, and chant my sacred song
to him, the One Supreme!

And in an ancient incantation over invalids, there is the monotheistic idea, even where Io is not addressed:

Stay, omens, stay. The One Supreme has come.
Soul of power, soul of earth and heaven, accept delight and ecstasy unlimited.
Hold all beauty ; let it spread around.
The soul now climbs and high ascends, the soul of the Supreme and his disciples.
O Heaven ! The soul is far above, above in all Creation's space.
In light supreme, in blaze of day.

These mystical incantations have no echo of the Bible, not even of the Old Testament, in them ; they are instinct with the half-chaotic higher philosophy in the native mind. The productions that come closest to them, not only in form, but in spirit, are the hymns of the Rig-veda. They display the same mystical exaltation, the same wealth of figurative speech, the same formless ideas and the same inchoate philosophy. Take any one of the hymns to Agni or Indra or to Ushas the dawn, and the sense of affinity to these Maori incantations is manifest. None of them are the mere inarticulate utterances of the savage mind. They reveal that half-poetic, half-philosophic attitude toward existence and its phenomena which is the mark of an early but rapidly advancing culture. The first Greek philosophers have it. But there is in them none of the mysticism that marks off the Vedic hymns and the Maori laments and incantations from those of all other primitive peoples.

The Natural Affinity of the Polynesian Mind for a Vague Philosophy points to Early Aryan India

(11) There is something of the same ambiguity and doubt about the unstoried genealogy of creation, which holds such a large space in the first volume of White's "Ancient History of the Maori." It may have been suggested by

the first chapter of Genesis, and may be saturated with the primitive philosophy of that book; for the Maoris had long been Christianised when it was communicated by the various priests, and these priests had doubtless studied the Bible with some care. But, on the other hand, it is to be said that, though the different reciters varied in their versions, the core of them was the same; and again, the deeper Maori mind, as represented in its high priests, had a natural affinity for the metaphysics and cosmogony of the Old Testament, and thus reveals a native vein that would spontaneously produce such crude efforts at the philosophy of existence, and the reappearance of these more esoteric, if not mystical, religious ideas might be due to the abandonment of the later and ranker growth of gods and religious customs before the power of the higher conceptions and teachings of Christianity. The forest of the personal gods, like Tu and Rongo, and countless more, had obscured the older, more philosophical, and less personified ideas of Deity that had tended in the finer minds towards monotheism; but they had not destroyed the seed of the old religious world, and when the conflagration of a new faith swept through the tangled growth, the elder growth sprang up anew, where it seemed to have for ever disappeared.

(12) In the cosmological tablet given at the close of White's first volume, Te Kore, or Nothingness, comes first, followed by Te Po, or Darkness; and sixteen abstractions descend from Po in series, among them Thought, Breath of Life, Space, each a pre-cosmic period stretching from a thousand to unlimited years. Then seems to come the World floating in Space, an idea somewhat advanced for primitive cosmology. Coeval with this there seem to exist the ten heavens, called Rangi, and the ten under-worlds, called Papa, and Rangi and Papa; each seems to marry various mates. Between them come the six great gods of

the later Maori worship: Tu, Rongo, Haumia, Tawhiri, Tane and Tangaroa.

(13) This takes the mind back to to the Theogony of Hesiod, many centuries before the Greece of Pericles. We have the same effort at tracing back the genealogy of the later gods to Chaos, or the Void; "from Chaos were born Erebus and black Night; and from Night again sprang forth Æther and Day." But the Maori mind was far more mystically imaginative than the early Greek; it indulged in a metaphysics of creation, beside which both the Greek mind and the Hebrew seem practical and prosaic. Take this, from an ancient lament of Turoa:

From germ of light sprang thought, and God's own medium came;
Then bud and bloom; and life in space produced the worlds of night.
'Twas Nothing that begat the Nothing unpossessed,
And Nothing without charm.

Or again, take the mythological chant of Tane's discovery of man:

Night had conceived the seed of night; the heart, the foundation of night,
Had stood forth self-existing even in the gloom.
The shadows screen the faintest gleam of light.
The procreating power, the ecstasy of life first known,
And joy of issuing forth from silence into sound.
Thus the progeny of the Great-extending filled the heavens' expanse.

If these represent the original in any degree, we must acknowledge in the Maori mind a poetical mysticism, a formlessness of real poetic thought that approaches some of our modern poets, and chaos itself. We have to resort to the early Hindoo books to find anything like it in the primitive world. For the Orphic hymns and myths are not early Greek; they are saturated with the mystic philosophy that arose after the first spread of Christianity. In the Vedic hymns,

and in the later and more philosophic and mystical Upanishads, there is much of this vague yearning after what evades all early thought. One quotation will be enough, a passage from Muir's prose translation of a Vedic hymn of creation: "There was then neither entity nor nonentity; there was no atmosphere nor sky above." "Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night. That One breathed calmly, self-supported; there was nothing different from or above it. In the beginning darkness existed enveloped in Darkness." "That One which lay void and wrapped in nothingness, was developed by the power of fervour." Or take one from Bühler's translation of the "Laws of Manu": "This universe existed in the shape of Darkness, unperceived, destitute of distinctive marks, unattainable by reasoning, unknowable, wholly immersed, as it were, in deep sleep. Then the divine Self-existent, indiscernible, but making all this, the great elements and the rest, discernible, appeared with irresistible creative power, dispelling the darkness."

(14) But even this is more definite and less mystically imaginative than the products of Maori thought, which seem to revel in the formless. But the chants and hymns are not always on this level any more than the Rig-veda. They are more often dreary columns of the genealogy of the gods, like Hesiod's, only here and there relieved by a gleam of incident or detail of poetry. A fine beginning such as that of the South Island karakia, "The Atua (god) began his chant of creation at Te Po, and sang; Po begat Te Ao (light), who begat Ao-marama (daylight)" degenerates at once into a monotonous record of the wiving and begetting of the gods.

(15) Fragments of a similar abstract cosmology have been reported from the Hervey group, and appear in the Hawaiian and Marquesan hymns. This abstraction is most

characteristic of the higher Polynesian mind, and it seems to be agreed on all hands that it is not an evolution from the lower elements of Polynesian religion, as the later Hindoo philosophic religions are to some extent an evolution from the early Aryan worship. It has rather been thrust into the background and obscured by later accretions, the personified phenomena of Nature and the deified ancestors or heroes. That it belonged to the last migration, the migration from South Asia, is manifest; for it is only the priests of the old aristocracy that know it. It is not for the common herd. It is held sacred above the sacred, an inner mystery not to be profaned by communication, or by common rites and common gods.

(16) And there is never any degeneration in this spiritual sphere unless by contact with a lower world. Wherever "gods many" have crept into a faith that had reached the idealising and mystical stage, they come from the presence of a lower race; it needs conversion, and that implies an adaptation of the higher attitude to the lower, and generally an absorption of many of the deities and rites of those that have to be converted. This occurred with the conquering Sanskritic Aryans, that entered the Panjaub with a very elevated primitive creed, and soon developed a still more philosophical version of it. As soon as they began to spread their empire over the valley of the Ganges, they had to take in the local gods of the aborigines, and evolved a hard-and-fast ritual and a rigid priesthood. And the more it spread through India, the more it expanded its pantheon and lowered its creed. This was evidently what occurred in Polynesia. The road to monotheism or pantheism, on which they had entered before the last immigrants left India, had to be abandoned when they took the women of the conquered aboriginals into their households in the islands.

The Myths of the Deluge are coloured by the Bible, not so the Myths of the Under-world

(17) We can have little hesitation about the ultimate source of this element in the Polynesian religion. There are others, mythological events, that are not so unambiguous. The story of a deluge appears all through Polynesia, as it does in so many regions of the world. There are three or four different versions of this in New Zealand, with varying incidents, and personages and causes; we may be sure, therefore, that either the South Asiatic immigrants or the aboriginals from the north, if not both, had some form of it. But all the later forms preserved are manifestly vitiated by knowledge of the Old Testament version; and we can trust no feature as being local or primal.

(18) It is different with the Polynesian myths of the under-world or world beyond death. These are quite untainted by the Christian idea of hell, which, differing from the old Judaic Sheol, was a place of punishment and torture for the wicked. Like all primitive hells or worlds of shadows, there is no morality in it; it is the place of the spirits of the dead, whether bad or good. What distinction there is lies between the aristocrats and the common people, and if any difference lies amongst the aristocrats, it is between the heroically warlike and the feeble and undistinguished.

The Maori Myths of a Future Life have Strong Resemblance to those of Aryan Races

(19) Most primitive peoples, except in parts of Africa and America, have strong belief in the future life, and that a distinctly material one, generally a shadowy counterpart or copy of the life on earth, as it is, as a rule, based on the world of dreams. But it is variously organised, partly ac-

cording to the environment, geographical, climatic and faunal, partly according to the culture-stage reached, but very largely according to the racial stem. It has a fundamental likeness all over the world based on the psychological unity of mankind. But in its details it differs strikingly in different races and different stages of civilisation. It is always material, yet shadowy, always reached by the spirits of the dead with difficulty over many obstructions, and commonly a reflex or facsimile of the life just left by the spirit, with a misty atmosphere or features attractive or repulsive added, and it is in all the early stages, those of savagery, barbarism and semi-civilisation, out of all relation to the normal character of the spirit and the life it has led. After thus there is no community of likeness, except that which arises from common racial origin.

(20) But even the differentiating features have to some extent common sources in the attitude assumed to the phenomena of the world, the sky with the heavenly bodies, the earth with its caves and growing things, the sea with its depths. Other differences arise from the migrant or stationary history of the people; if they have come from afar to their actual abode, the world of shadows is dimly created by memory reaching out to the primeval home; if they have been in the land from time immemorial, their under-world has no reference to other parts of the earth. Still more does the existence of a conquered race differentiate the worlds of spirits. Peaceful absorption means the amalgamation of two pantheons. Compulsory absorption precipitates the Olympus of the conquered into Hades, and turns its rites into sorceries of hell.

(21) What classifies the Polynesians again with peoples of Aryan speech is the coexistence of all these differentiating elements in their idea of the life beyond the grave. Their attitude to the phenomena of nature is much the same in

their mythology. Rhys, in his Hibbert Lectures on Celtic religion, thus sums up the earliest creed of the Celts: "In the beginning earth and heaven were great world-giants, and they were the parents of a numerous offspring; but the Heaven in those days lay upon the Earth, and their children, crowded between them, were unhappy and without light, as was also their mother. So she and they took counsel against Heaven, and one of the sons, who was bolder than the others, undertook shamefully to mutilate Heaven." "Some of the children of Earth and Heaven were born bright beings or gods, who mostly loved the light and the upper air; and some were Giants or Titans, who were of a darker or gloomier hue. These latter hated the gods and the gods hated them." This "would require scarcely any important modification in order to apply equally to the Aryans in the distant epoch of their pro-ethnic unity."

(22) So would it apply to the Polynesian personification of the sky and the earth and the phenomena of nature. This description of the primal relations of heaven and earth is as true of Rangi and Papa as of the Greek Kronos and Zeus with the Titans, the Norse Thor and Niorthr, the Celtic Fergus and Nemed, and the Indian Varuna and Yama. There are details of the rebellion against Heaven that differ somewhat from the Polynesian myth. But the nucleus is the same, the attitude to the phenomena is the same. They all point back to a period in their prehistoric history when, and to a birthland where, there was a sub-arctic domination of the year by the darkness of the long winter, and the coming of the brief but splendid summer seemed a rending of Heaven from Earth to let the light of the sun shine in on them and their children. There is less made of the sub-terranean darkness of the under-world by the Northern Aryans than by those of the zone that is nearer the tropics; and this is perhaps due to the Teutons and Celts remaining, according

to the now generally accepted theory, in the primal land of the Aryans, the Baltic region; they did not know the oppression and terror of the long darkness till they knew the contrast in the bright summers of the south. The Polynesians lay the same stress on the darkness of the world of the dead as the Greeks and the Asiatic Aryans do.

(23) Not even is the Maori version of this primal nucleus of Aryan mythology unvarying or consistent with itself. One phase of it lays great emphasis on Tane, the lord of the forests, as the leader of the rebellion against Rangi or Heaven; and he in the eastern groups is the lord of light, and is, like Zeus himself, a representation of the shining heaven and of all the sources of light. Another phase makes Tu, the god of war, and Rongo, the god of cultivated food and afterwards god of peace, the great rebels, who are cast into hell for their war against Rangi their father. One version makes Tane, the friend of Heaven, cast his brothers into the depths of darkness. Another makes Tawhirimatea, the lord of storms, the ally of his father and the punisher of his rebellious brothers. In the lower circles of Po or Darkness the evil spirits lie and conspire against the peace of the gods and man. The story has a striking resemblance to the version of the rebellion in heaven and the downfall into hell given by Milton in his "Paradise Lost." Now Milton did not get this from the Judaic Sheol or the Christian hell as hinted at in the Bible; it was the growth of mediaeval times partly from classical story, partly from Scriptural suggestion, but most of all from the Teutonic and Celtic editions of the primal Aryan myth of Heaven and Earth. There is in all of them the germ of that dualism between good and evil, light and darkness, which culminates in the Ormuzd and Ahriman of the ancient religion of Persia.

[illegible] WITH A SEED OF THE [illegible] TO BE DEVELOPED

[illegible] There is a mark of them, too, the evidence of a [illegible] wherever there is a precipitation of the [illegible] against heaven into the lower darkness, it is the gods of the conquered that are dethroned, and have to "reign in hell." Not merely do the Hades-queens, Hinenuitepo, Kore the wife of Maui, the culture-leader from the north, and Miru rule in Po, but these masculine rebels against Heaven, Tu and Rongo, dwell there too. There is an elaboration of grades of darkness and abhorrence in the evil lands of hell, as there is of divinity and light in the ten lands of heaven, and this takes the mind back to the nine worlds of the Norse mythology, and the circles of Dante's Inferno and Paradiso. They all doubtless come from some primitive Aryan source, and reveal the efforts of the primitive Aryan mind after a gradation of happiness and misery beyond death, that ultimately leads to the elevation of both hell and heaven into the sphere of morality.

(25) There are a few dim foreshadowings of this final coalescence of ethics and the future life, that is the mark of a high civilisation, even in the Polynesian pantheon. Rehua, who rules the four highest heavens, is the god of love and benevolence. Rangi, in spite of his patronage of war, has benignance in his nature, and is the giver of life and health. Kahuhura, the rainbow-god, watches our voyages, and also confers life and health. Rongomai, Ruatapu and Uenuku were full of goodness to those who were good. On the other hand, Tu and Rongo were evil deities that worked mischief amongst men. Whiro, the god of thieves in Eastern Polynesia, is also responsible for much of the evil in the world. And around Miru, the queen of the lower [illegible] of Po (or Darkness), are gathered many evil gods,

some of them ngarara, or reptile or snake, gods, and others makutu or deities of sorcery; it was to her that Rongomai resorted in order to learn the spells of witchcraft. There are the same beginnings in all the Aryan myths of a classification of gods and spirits and worlds beyond death into evil and good.

(26) But in the Polynesian, as in most primitive hells and heavens, the only distinction is between spirits aristocratic and common, warlike and cringing. The lowest circle of Po was Ameto (or Extinction), where all common souls finally vanished out of existence. In fact, there seems to be here the germ of that which, in the Vedic religion, ultimately produced the Buddhist Nirvana, the annihilation to be desired, as the return of the Maori spirit in the form of a moth seems to be a relic of the earlier doctrine of transmigration. But there is much ambiguity as to what becomes of spirits after death; now it seems as if there were never any soul in common men and women, or slaves, at all, and that death meant complete annihilation for them; and yet every animal and every implement and weapon has a soul, and, if the dog is killed or the gourd broken, the soul of it goes with the dead chief. Again, the souls of the common seem to enter Po, and wander on towards extinction; now the souls of chiefs seem to linger about the body, and even long after about the dwellings of their relatives; again, they seem to get into the upper circles of Darkness, and again some of them seem to go into the upper zones of heaven; sometimes the continuance of even the war-like spirit seems to depend on the funeral rites.

The Western Polynesian Paradise differs from the Eastern

(27) But the predominant idea as to warriors is that they become gods in heaven, still following warlike pursuits. According to Letourneau's Sociology, "Paradise was specially

reserved for the great warriors or the conquerors. Men spent their days in perpetual warfare, interrupted only by great banquets, at which they over-gorged themselves with fish and sweet potato." Yet immediately after he tells of an old warrior chief who, when he heard a Wesleyan missionary describe the future life of the Christians, refused to go to such a heaven, and declared he would rather go into the Maori Po or hell, "to enjoy himself there with his old friends upon sweet potatoes." Tawhaki, the New Zealand Baldur, though he goes to the land of the dead, like his Norse kin, ascends at last to Heaven and rules three circles there. So it may be that the Maori warrior, after dying and descending to Po, rises to the delights of perpetual war and cannibalism amongst the deities; for, as the Norse Valhalla is in Asgard, or the abode of the gods, so the Polynesian paradise of warriors is in heaven.

(28) The Tahitian paradise and that of most of the tropical Polynesians differed to some extent from this. It had none of the strenuous, warlike joys of the spirits of Maori chiefs; it was the sensuous paradise of the South Asiatics, song, dance, feasting, unlimited kava, and never-ending amorous pleasures; it was a sublimated version of the life of that notorious society of aristocratic debauchees, the Areois. Priests and the Areois got there without trouble; chiefs and their friends by help of the priests; and a few common souls might, by bribing the priests handsomely, get out of Po into this Oriental heaven.

(29) And, like the Vedic paradise, the Tahitian and the Nukuhivan paradise was away above the earth; in Tahiti up in the air above the high mountains of Raiatea, amongst the Nukuhivans in an island in the clouds; in the Rigvedas it was above the clouds, but it was, like that of the tropical Polynesians, a land of Cockayne, where man was supremely happy, and had every wish, even the most mundane, gratified

at once; just as the geese flew ready cooked in the land of Cockayne, the pork ran ready roasted in Rohutu, the Tahitian paradise.

In Maori Mythology the Paradise of the Northern Immigrants is often Confused with that of the South Asiatic Immigrants

(30) Amongst the Western and Southern Polynesians there is more ambiguity about the location of their Valhalla. They are quite as decided as to the utter extinction of the common souls. But the final dwelling-place of the warrior and chiefly souls is shifting and vague. In Tonga it is Bulotu, a large island a long way off to the north-west, full of all delightful plants and flowers. In New Zealand, as well as in some of the tropical islands, Hades is below the sea, sometimes in the sky, and sometimes in a distant and mystic island. And some references seem to identify Hawaiki or the birthland with Po or the under-world.

(31) There is, in fact, here a confusion of the two birthlands of the race, the North and the South Asiatic. Hawaiki is the land in the West whence the last migration came, and whither the spirits of the heroic and aristocratic naturally return at death; but the pre-Polynesian migration from the North had likewise as a migrating people their birthland paradise; and this was properly in the north, with its long winters and deep, long winter nights. Hence their paradise is Po, the Darkness, the Night. Thus the subterranean place of soul-extinction of the South Asiatics is the paradise of the North Pacific immigrants, and the two contradictory views get inextricably intermingled, so that occasionally Hawaiki or the birthland paradise of the last immigrants is placed in Po, under the earth, and sometimes under the sea—this last the sure sign of maritime migration.

(32) And there were gods, too, that are acknowledged by the Maoris to have belonged to their predecessors. There was Oho, spoken of in the Urewera country as belonging to the tangata whenua or aboriginals; and there were rainbow gods, the Haere, that were not worshipped by the Maoris, they having Kahukura and Uenuku as the deities of the rainbow. Then there are gods that are worshipped by certain tribes in New Zealand, and unacknowledged by others. There is Maru, the war-god of the South Island, but unrecognised in the North Island, except at Wanganui. And the Ureweras, who have probably more of the original blood in their veins than any other tribe, have also many divinities that are not known in other parts, such as Marere-o-tonga, the peacemaker; his twin, Takatakaputea, mentioned by Shortland; their lizard deities, Rehu-a-tainui and Tamarau, and many more. These Ureweras point out in the porch of their great carved house an image of a deified ancestor, with a lizard issuing from the mouth, and say that he was fond of eating lizards, whereas in most parts of New Zealand the natives shrink from lizards.

(33) There is, in fact, as manifest a stratification in the mythology and the religious ideas of the Maoris as in their customs and language. And some of the strata are easily identifiable with South Asiatic mythology, whilst others are manifestly of the same origin as the North Ayran.

CHAPTER XII

POLYNESIAN ARTS AND INDUSTRIES: THE PRIMITIVE AND THE ARCHITECTURAL

(1) THERE is no ethnological picture more piquant in the whole world for its striking contrasts than that of Polynesia. We have seen this in its customs, its language, and its religious and mythological ideas. But most piquant is it when we turn to its arts and industries. Here we have co-existent some of the most primitive to be found on the face of the earth, and some of the most advanced, the arts of the savage cheek by jowl with those of the highly civilised, and the strangest feature of it all is that it lies between two great types of civilisation, the ancient type of the Asiatic coasts, bred by long intercourse with other nations and races, and the young or self-bred civilisations of the American Pacific coast. That for thousands of years it was quarantined from these, in spite of its maritime skill and far-voyaging tendency, is one of the most extraordinary phenomena in the history of man.

POLYNESIA REMAINED IN THE STONE AGE

(2) First of all it remained in the Stone Age till Europeans broke into its isolated seas with their metal implements and weapons. It had no trace of any metals, and the romance of it all is that the last migrations from the coast of Asia must have missed first copper or bronze, and then iron, by the

merest accident. The last Stone Men that were driven south in their canoes from the Japanese Archipelago must have seen the bronze weapons of the newcomers who drove them out. And if, as the indications of language and religion seem to point out, the final migration from South Asia left either the north-west or the north-east of India some centuries before our era, then they must have seen the copper that the conquering Aryans knew. Nay, they were within an ace of taking iron with them into the far islands of the Pacific; for the iron culture of Madagascar comes, not from the African continent, but from Indonesia, their type of bellows for smelting the metal being much the same as that employed by the Malays, and quite unlike the African. Probably they failed to get it, because they took into their veins none of the new Mongoloid blood that was flushing the archipelago. The Malagasy migrants, we can see from their features, had absorbed or been absorbed by the conquering Malays; and so they took the new and masterful metal with them on their long voyage to the south-west. The Polynesian immigrants doubtless saw and felt the power of the new and incisive weapons of the strange race from the north; but they were driven off in their canoes without learning their use or the art of making them. And these dominant sea-brigands, as they spread southwards through the archipelago, set up the most formidable of barriers, that of piracy, to all return, to all further immigration from either India or Java, and to all peaceful or commercial intercourse between the Pacific immigrants and their birthlands. Nor were they drawn farther afield into the great ocean than the limits of mercantile adventure. It was the coast and island traffic of Asia they preyed upon; and there was no rich prey farther east than Gilolo or Ceram, and farther south than Timor. The piracy of the new masters of Indonesia fixes the limit of Malaysia, and explains the isolation of Polynesia for so many centuries.

It is Both Palaeolithic and Neolithic

(3) But this last immigration must have found a vast population already settled in the islands, and that probably a population which was itself mixed; for there is found not merely in the ancient shell-mounds and caves of New Zealand, but also amongst the Maoris themselves, a stone culture that is at once palaeolithic and neolithic. They had the most beautifully polished weapons of various hard kinds of stone, that each meant years of patient work, but they also used the chipped weapons and flakes of the early stone age. Some of their axes and adzes were not much more than chipped, and in order to cut the hair and to gash themselves when mourning, and to perform certain ancient ceremonies and sacrifices, flakes of obsidian or flint had to be used, and in many of the islands rough stones were employed as pounders, and smooth beach stones as missiles hurled from the sling. What seems to indicate that the last immigrants did not introduce stone culture is the fact that stone is far less favoured in their weapons than in their implements. Most of their instruments of war, even their meres, when they could not afford greenstone, are of wood or bone. But their axes and adzes and chisels and files and pounders are chiefly of stone. When an adze was put into the hands of the warrior it was of greenstone, and meant rather to be symbolic of authority than to be used as a weapon. Now, the possession of weapons is the mark of a conquering aristocracy, whilst the instrument of daily and despised labour belongs to the conquered and the common; and, though the axe and the adze were tools of the canoe-making, house-building, wood-carving aristocracy, they were also the tools of the tree-felling, canoe-hollowing, and wood-carving aborigines.

No Pottery in Polynesia

(4) But a far more striking sign of the long isolation of Polynesia is the absence of pottery. Tonga is the only group that makes earthenware vessels; but its proximity to Fiji and intercourse with it sufficiently explains the exception. And what makes the absence more striking is the existence of the art in the neighbouring region of Melanesia amongst a race much lower in the scale. There were undoubtedly refluxes from Polynesia into both Melanesia and Papuasia, as we can see from their carvings, the use of the steam oven, and other features of Polynesian culture. But had Polynesia been peopled by the Melanesians before the lighter-coloured immigrants came into it, we should have found potsherds, if not the art, all over the islands. That neither the art nor its products ever penetrated into them proves of itself clearly enough that they never had any Melanesian immigration. The steam oven, the use of gourds as water-vessels, and the practice of boiling water by throwing red-hot stones into it might have prevented the development of the art; but they could not have prevented its introduction.

(5) Ratzel in his "History of Mankind" seems to rely on one of the older voyagers when he makes Easter Island an exception away on the extreme east, to be placed with Tonga on the extreme west. No pottery has been made on that isolated islet. But he might have made New Zealand an exception; for a find of a red-pottery-like statuette in a native burying-ground in the Marlborough Sounds is reported by Mr. Joshua Rutland in a paper in the third volume of the "Journal of the Polynesian Society." Though it has been lost again, its finder, a Mr. Henderson, describes it as four inches high, with a Maori face, well executed. Not far from it was found a stone head, half simian. This might seem to disprove the absence of Melanesians; but they never went

in their potter's art beyond the moulding of vessels for food and drinking. The art of making human heads and busts in terra-cotta belongs to the Pacific coast of America, and especially to Peru; that is the nearest affinity to be found. But we should need far more extensive and reliable finds in New Zealand, and relics in the islands intervening, to infer any racial connection. Standing by itself it is but an accident, and the Polynesians still hold the unique position of being classified with the Fuegians and Australians, at the lowest stage of human culture, as having no pottery, whilst showing themselves in other directions as on the verge of civilisation.

It is Primitive in Fire-making

(6) But there is an art in which they stand lower than even these two races. It is that of fire-making. Tyler, in his "Early History of Mankind," shows that one of the most primitive methods of producing fire is the stick and groove, and that the fire-drill is a step in advance. It is the method of rubbing the blunted point of a hard stick in a groove of a horizontal piece of soft wood till the dust of the latter catches fire. It is common to all the islands of Polynesia, and it is not reported outside of the region, except according to Mason, in his "Origins of Invention," the only authority for the statement, sporadically in America and Australia, and in New Britain, on the coast of New Guinea. The Australians get fire by twirling an upright stick between the hands in a hole in a horizontal piece of wood, the most elementary form of the fire-drill, used also all through pre-Aryan India, in Micronesia, and in Indonesia, although in Sumatra and Borneo some natives strike fire with two pieces of bamboo, whilst others saw one piece across the other in order to get fire; and the Fuegians use a still higher method, that by striking sparks with a flint from a piece of

iron pyrites. The use of the most primitive of all methods, the stick and groove, all over the islands, in spite of the employment of a drill for boring holes, and that in the midst of races that use more advanced methods, seems to indicate, as the great basis of the Polynesian population, an extremely ancient race, that by having their women taken into the households of every new conquering immigration dictated to the new-comers their household arts.

The Women kept these Primitive Customs Alive

(7) If we kept our eyes on this picture of Polynesia, with its half-palaeolithic, half-neolithic stone-culture, its potterless state, and its primeval method of fire production, we should infer that it was the home of the most primitive savages on the face of the earth; but we should be wrong, for there is a complete contrast to this in their maritime and domestic architecture. For centuries they have built canoes that, for their sea-going qualities, were equal to the best of all but recent times, and in their capacity were not far off the largest ships of ancient civilisations; whilst their public or community houses were as large and commodious and as well built as any but those of the great stone-building civilisations. There is nothing of the savage and little of the merely primitive in these two arts of the Maori. They imply, even without considering the ornament, such skill in detail, such engineering knowledge in the cutting and hauling and adjusting of immense timbers, and such fine dexterity and mathematical exactness in symmetrical design as usually belong only to a cultured people.

(8) The contrast is so striking that we need have no hesitation in assuming a composite race and culture in Polynesia, and especially in New Zealand. But, it may be asked, why did the advanced new-comers accept the ultra-

primitive arts of their predecessors? Why did they not impose all the new culture they brought? The answer is that fire-making and pottery in all early races were in the hands of women. The hunting stage of humanity fixed the division of labour between the sexes for all precivilised times. The strenuous toil needed in the pursuit of wild animals meant specialisation of the muscles, and the long absence from the household in the forest or on the prairie or on the sea left no doubt as to which sex should perform the duties of the hearth and those that demanded patient attention rather than concentration of strength, daring, and skill. And when a race was subjugated, the men-slaves were set at times to aid the women; but the women in the households had the direction of all household arts and their methods. Hence the survival of such primitive arts as the fire-plough, and the absence of such arts as pottery in a cultured race like the Polynesians, that was isolated from other races, unless they came in far-voyaging craft. The absence of pottery is doubtless to be placed along with the existence of palaeolithic or chipped weapons; for in most parts of the world, and especially in Europe and the North Pacific, these unpolished tools are found without any evidence of the potter's art. These chipped palaeolithic implements were used amongst the Maoris chiefly for the rough work of the household, or at best for the cutting of the hair and the gashing of the body, to which women applied themselves with most fervour in mourning. The polished tools were for use in war, and in building canoes and houses, the manly employments. It is the women that are the great conservators of the past, not merely because they have only a limited sphere and seldom come into contact with foreign manners and ideas, but because in primitive times it is they that survive the subjugated race, and carry its manners and arts into the households and the nurseries of the conquering race. Thus it is that in such an isolated

region such primitive arts may co-exist with the greatest advancement in those that belong to the men.

Evidence of Stratification in Housebuilding

(9) There are even in the masculine arts, like maritime and domestic architecture, signs in Polynesia of different stages of culture. The whares in a New Zealand pa are not all of the highest type. Some are flimsily built of grass and other temporary materials. Others have earth covered with turf rising up their sides and half over their roofs like the dwellings of the British Columbian and sub-Arctic peoples. But, quite apart from their ordinary houses, there are evidences of the various types of prehistoric architecture having belonged to pre-Polynesian tribes. Little though the Maoris have of the megalithic in their dwellings, there are relics of it in various places. Some of the South Island pas had walls of stone, and on the slopes of Mount Egmont and on the Great Barrier Island are found rough fortifications of boulders, such as are to be seen in the interior of some of the tropical islands as refuges for the non-combatants during war. Even the lake-dwellings of prehistoric Europe have their counterpart in a lake near Horowhenua in the Wellington Province, whilst tree forts have been reported from the Wanganui River and from near Levin; a village was built on a platform resting on the high branches. This takes us to houses in Papuasia and the Philippines; in the latter a white tribe was recently described as living in trees. And Turi, the great navigator, Maori legend tells, came across a people dwelling in trees, and took one of their women to wife.

(10) But perhaps the most interesting and most primitive of all the types of dwellings in New Zealand are the pit-dwellings described by Mr. Joshua Rutland in the "Journal of the

Polynesian Society," and by Mr. Lindsay Buick in his "Old Marlborough." Many examples of this type have been found in the sounds on the south of Cook Strait, dug out of the clay or earth, and occasionally out of the solid rock, to a depth of from four to eight feet. Some are duplicated with a thick wall between, sometimes with the floor of one room higher than the other. They are always on the sunny slopes of hills or on the top of spurs looking to the north, and broad terraces are generally made in front of them. They lie in clusters or series, and they were evidently by no means kumara pits. On the floor of some were found the ashes that indicate a hearth. But they had been so overgrown with centuried forests that they were not discovered till all the bush was cleared. The Maoris of the district point out certain families that are descended from, or have the blood of, the people that inhabited these pits—a small dark race—and say that they had canoes, which they used to haul up the slopes to their dwellings by means of ropes. And Mr. Buick identifies them with the Morioris of the Chatham Islands, who have a tradition that they were driven out from these sounds by the new-comers from Polynesia, and who live in dwellings half underground like these. They themselves are not of the small, dark type, and must be a Polynesian cross with the pit-dwellers; they have a genealogy that goes back 182 generations, or more than 4,500 years; and not far from Rangi and Papa in it comes Toi, the name of the aboriginal people in the Urewera country. In Dusky Sound similar ancient pits are described as existing. Now in South Island legend Maui is said to have handed over the land he had fished up to the Kui, who when dispossessed by the Tutumaiao, went to live underground.

(11) This habit of digging out the earth as the main part of a dwelling to be roofed over, it has been shown, cannot

belong to a people that had lived long in the tropics. There the rankness of the soil makes it dangerous to disturb it. It is a natural custom of dwellers in cold regions, in the north temperate or sub-Arctic zone. And it is there, in the Japanese Archipelago and northward, that we find the custom again in the Pacific. The pit-dwellers preceded the Japanese, nay, preceded the Aino, and were either contemporaneous with, or immediately subsequent to, the Stone Men. That they lived in islands long separated from the continent shows that they were maritime; and there is no improbability in the idea that they joined or followed the migrations of the megalithic people southwards, except that there are no traces of their pit-dwellings between Japan and the South Island of New Zealand, and that potsherds are found in the hollows of Japan that formed part of their dwellings. Of course the tropical forests would soon obliterate all traces of their pits, even if they dug them as they ventured from tropical island to tropical island; and the terra-cotta bust found in the Marlborough Sound may be a relic of their pottery habit, just as the korotangi, or weeping bird, a beautifully sculptured petrel in steatite that came with the Tainui canoe to New Zealand (the canoe that brought a Patupairehe, or fairy woman, evidently one of the fair-skinned aborigines), may be a relic of another pre-Japanese race that migrated southwards by sea. The habit and the art of sculpturing in steatite and pottery true to nature may have been abandoned in the new lands, if the materials were hard to get. The pit-dwellers in the sounds, like those in Japan, were evidently a feeble, unwarlike folk, ready to migrate anywhere in seach of solitude and peace, easily abandoning their rights and habits, and easily getting absorbed and losing their individuality.

(12) All these types of dwellings, though they may not indicate difference of race, reveal different stages of culture,

or at least differences of culture that are due to differences of original climate and environment. The tree-dwellers come from the tropics, the lake-dwellers from the warmer temperate zone, and the pit-dwellers from the colder zones of the north.

Evidences of Stratification in Canoe-building

(13) There is a similar variety of culture revealed by the canoes and maritime habits. There is first of all the singular anomaly of a people so daring and skilful in navigating the Pacific, the greatest ocean in the world, and so capable as builders of large ocean-going canoes, adhering to the primitive method of propulsion by paddles. Even the Esquimaux, though keeping to the double paddle in their one-passenger skin canoes, use the oar in their large open-sea cargo and women's canoes. That the primeval substitute for and copy of the arm nd outspread palm should be kept to the last by the builders and sailers of ships hundreds of feet long and capable of carrying hundreds of people, is not the least strange of the contradictions in the life of the Polynesian.

(14) And yet we have evidence of the fixed leverage, the rowlock, having existed in New Zealand. The Morioris, primitive though they were in the sailless raft-canoes, and in their adherence to the paddle, used the latter like an oar, turning their backs to the bow, and pressing the handle against a thole-pin. So the Easter Islanders, poor though they are in canoe timber and canoes, use the paddle by way of a scull. It is clear, in short, that one of the pre-Polynesian peoples had advanced as far as the principle of the oar. But they were of an unobtrusive, unwarlike type, and their advance in the maritime art was shouldered aside by the energy and push of the new-comers from Indonesia with their outriggers. The outrigger was a bar to any development of oarage, and it evidently came with the immigrants from

the south of Asia. The double canoe, belonging only to Polynesia and probably developed there, was as unsuited to the oar. And when the conquerors in New Zealand came to discard both of these and adopt the single dugouts of the conquered, the habits of the art were too deeply rooted in conservatism and religion to allow the abandonment of the paddle for the oar.

(15) Canoe-building and canoe-management were ever in New Zealand aristocratic employments, and it is these that most resist the modern spirit, where there is no rising urban or commercial plutocracy to break down the old convention; and the conquerors would scorn the methods of the conquered. These were not in the sphere of woman; the Maori war-canoes were too sacred, like the chiefs, to have the steam of cooking near them; even the fishing canoes had parts that were sacred from cooking and women; whilst in the Marquesas no woman was allowed to approach or touch any part of a canoe. Thus the arts of navigation were not modified by the conquered, as the household arts were. It was doubtless the abandonment of far-voyaging and the predominance of river and inland navigation in New Zealand that led to the ultimate substitution of the single canoe for the double and outrigger. Yet they clung to these sporadically up into the nineteenth century. So, probably, the great trees so common in the New Zealand forests, along with the frequent and heavy storms and seas on the New Zealand coast, may have led to the abandonment of the South Sea plank-sewn canoe for the huge dugout with its one-plank gunwale.

(16) There are, however, survivals of much more primitive seacraft in many districts of the country. Polack saw, early in the nineteenth century, between Kaipara and Hokianga, a canoe of bulrushes sixty feet long. It is just such a canoe that is described in the legend of Kahukura as belonging to the Patupaiarehe, or fairy fishers. On the east coast open-

seamed rafts made of poles lashed together were frequently used in deep-sea fishing, whilst the Morioris, of the Chatham Islands, made their canoes of flax-flower stems, that floated like rafts on sea-kelp bladders, the deck level with the water; but they had the high bow and stern of the Maori canoe, and could sometimes hold sixty fishermen, even out on the ocean. And some of the early voyagers saw the double log with cross-pieces and a platform, probably the origin of the double canoe, used off the coasts of New Zealand.

(17) One curious instance of the localisation of customs as revealing differences of stock is the black colour that the natives of the north of the North Island give their canoes in contrast to the rest of New Zealand. If this is placed alongside the fact that the Patupaiarehe, or fairies, that represent fair-skinned European-like aborigines, belonged to this northern region, and the other that they abhorred kokowai, or the red ochre of the Maoris, we see an explanation of the localisation in differences of aboriginal race or tribe.

(18) But these primitive craft were the relics of an earlier stratum of population, though even these must have been able to navigate wide spaces of ocean in order to reach New Zealand. Not only the South Asiatic immigrants, but their predecessors, must have been bold navigators; for Polynesia was a region of widely scattered islets from before the period of the evolution of the mammals. None except a bat is indigenous to either New Zealand or the islands, and wings and a partial land-bridge would account for its presence. Never since the appearance of man has there been any unbroken promontory of land thrust out into the Pacific from either Asia or America. Indonesia may have been less broken up than it is; but to the east of that there were nothing but widely intervalled islands. No race could ever, therefore, have found its way into this region that was not expert in navigation.

(19) And we find amongst the Polynesians, as contrasted with the Melanesians and Papuasians, a good working knowledge of the stars, such as was absolutely necessary to the inhabitants of so vast an oceanic archipelago. They were keen astronomers, and knew minutely the relative positions of the stars and the heavenly bodies, and even their changes and phases. So, too, did they know the set of the currents and winds; nor did they fail to have, to some extent, a knowledge of the periodicity of the weather. They had even maps of the geography of the region, rudely made of small twigs and sticks.

(20) All this meant a true art of navigation. And yet in the New Zealand wharekura, or advanced institution for technical teaching, there was no school for this art. There was the school of mythology, history, and theology, confined to the consecrated class. There was also a school devoted to the practical arts of life—agriculture, astronomy for use in agriculture, the making of weapons for war and implements for hunting and fishing; and to this women were admitted—a fact that shows the secrets of these arts common to both conquered and conquerors, aboriginals and aristocratic immigrants. But there was no school for navigation, such as one would expect amongst so far-voyaging a race. Clearly all the constituents of the people were maritime in every sense of the word, expert fishermen and sailors. And the cessation of intercourse with the islands, caused evidently by intense absorption in domestic politics and war, would allow the knowledge of oceanic navigation to sink into desuetude, and ultimate oblivion. It failed to become a part of their knowledge handed on from generation to generation; and coastal sailing and management of canoes became an instinct. Every boy, from the time he was able to walk, took to the water, both as a swimmer and paddler. His whole environment taught him canoe-craft.

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The Textile Art, as belonging to Woman, shows little Stratification

(2) It is different with the textile art. Amongst all primitive civilisations it belongs to the women's department. In Polynesia it is the women that pound out and macerate the tapa or bark-cloth, the most important material for clothing in all the tropical islands. It is so easy to produce that woven cloth had no chance against it; and thus it is that in these

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warm climates, for which the open-pored textiles are more suited, these were thrust into the background. Weaving as a natural development of the universal arts of savagery—mat-making and basket-making—existed as an art in those islands; but it took a subordinate place in the life. Bark-cloth belongs properly to the tropics, for there the bast, or inner bark of many trees, has its fibres inextricably interwoven; whilst the bast of the clothing plants of the temperate zone, not only of hemp and flax, but also of trees like cedar and elm, has its fibres in parallel layers or lines, so that it can be shredded into filaments that can be twisted or spun. Bark-cloth is universal in the tropical parts of Africa and South America; but the art of making it is less advanced than in Polynesia; they pound and macerate it, but they do not weld the strips together to make large sheets, as the women of the Pacific do.

(3) That in Polynesia it is a purely woman's art with no sacredness, or priestly rights connected with it, shows that it was not brought by the last immigrants and conquerors from South Asia. If, as most evidences seem to indicate, these latter came primarily from an Aryan race or from one in close contact with an Aryan race, we can quite understand why they did not bring any ideas with regard to the art. For the Aryans, we know from the words for clothing common to all the Indo-European languages, did not use bark-cloth; the bark garments mentioned by Pomponius Mela as being used by the Germans were probably, like those amongst the Ainos and the British Columbians, woven of bark fibres. The last immigrants doubtless saw bark-cloth being used or made in some of the islands of Indonesia, but it was by the conquered aboriginals or as a primitive and almost abandoned habit. The textiles that had been introduced by the Mongoloid conquerors had displaced it. Most probable it was that they brought with them to their new realms a

tendency to the textile art and to skin clothing. The Arctic zone is the natural home of skin raiment, the temperate zone of textile raiment, and the tropics of bark raiment. But the Baltic region, the now generally accepted birthland of the Aryan languages, touches on the sub-Arctic zone, especially during the periodic depressions of temperature; and hence, probably, the Aryan-speaking tribes that came to Asia brought with them both the textile habit and the skin habit.

(4) When the Polynesians came to New Zealand they brought with them all three forms of clothing. But during their long residence in the tropics with the art of cloth-making in the hands of the women they had taken into their households, bark-cloth had thrown the others into the shade, and it was principally as tapa-makers they came to their new country; they brought not merely rolls of tapa, but the aute or paper-mulberry to acclimatise as the main source of the bast. And, though it has now died out of New Zealand, it was seen by Colenso towards the middle of the nineteenth century under cultivation; its bast was used for fillets for the hair of chiefs—a sign that, as coming with the conquerors, it had become sacred; for the chief's head was sacred. And amongst the Ngatiawa two men are mentioned as having been expert beaters of tapa—a fact that alone would show in the sex of the workers that it was the last immigrants and conquerors that brought the art into New Zealand. They brought with them likewise the habit of skin clothing. For the dogskin mat and cloak were the special perquisite of the chief; no one else was allowed to use them. And tradition says that they introduced with them from Polynesia the edible dog, from which the garments were made. Only men were allowed to prepare the skins and sew them together, just as only men were allowed to eat canine flesh.

(5) But there is evidence in their customs, too, that they also brought one department at least of the textile art. For

though the women did the weaving, they had to learn it when young from priests with solemn rites and incantations and in a special weaving-house. They had, as mere women and unsacred beings, to be made holy before entering in; nor were they allowed to touch cooked food or eat during the initiation. They were isolated till it was all over, and then they were made common again, and could return to the ordinary duties of the household. They were afterwards as mere common beings, needing no ceremonial either to consecrate or deconsecrate them. But if they were weaving the garments of warriors or sacred persons they must weave them under cover and not in the open air, a condition showing how much the new-comers were devoted to house-building and house-dwelling.

(6) This proves only that the Polynesians did not learn the textile art wholly from the conquered in New Zealand. They must have brought some knowledge of it with them, when they thus consecrated the work of their new aboriginal wives, and took it under the wing of the priesthood. Rua, the deity of the weaving-house, is, according to tradition, an ancestor of the Maoris, though the meaning of the name, "double," seems to point to the double woof-thread of the Maori cloth, and thus to indicate that the legend is etymological. The legend tells that Rua learned the art of mat-weaving, along with that of wood-carving, from the Hakuturi, who, as wood fairies, probably represent forest-haunting aborigines. Two other stories of the origin of the art attribute it to other deities. The truth seems to be that the art was both pre-Polynesian and Polynesian. The North Pacific immigrants coming from the natural zone of textiles were sure to have brought it with them in a more or less primitive stage; and the discovery of such a source of fibre as New Zealand flax must have greatly aided in developing it long before the South Asiatics arrived in the country. It is not improbable, and the

ceremony of initiation seems to indicate, that the actual upright framework or loom used by the women was introduced by the new-comers, although we know that the Ainos used a similar frame, differing only in being used horizontally instead of vertically, for weaving their bast threads into cloth.

(7) But there were other items in the making of the ultimate textiles that were also brought from Polynesia. One was the ornamental border of mats, which was done by the men. The secret of dyeing with red doubtless also came; for the water with which the tanekaha bark was boiled had to be heated by stones that had not touched a cooking fire or any fire on which common men or women had looked—the neglect of such precautions would obliterate all knowledge of the secret from the mind; whereas the preparation of the black dye from hinau bark and a certain swamp mud needs no such religious exactitude, and must have been an aboriginal art. The Patupaiarehe's hatred of kokowai gives the same indications. Nor is it unlikely that some of the minuter details in the preparation of flax came also from the islands; it was, in fact, not unlike the preparation of the aute or the breadfruit bark for tapa; both were scraped of their green stuff with a sharp shell, steeped and macerated and then bleached in the sun, and afterwards pounded and worked up. That it was cultivated and used for a far longer period in New Zealand than the five centuries since the Polynesian six canoes came is shown by the large number of varieties (more than fifty), each with a name and a special use. The specialisation of so many kinds meant thousands of years of experiments in primitive times.

Fishing, Netting, and Rope-making were Aristocratic Employments

(8) When we turn to netting and ropes, we have a different set of conditions. It is the men that engage in this textile

art. In most of the islands it is the men that roll and braid from cocoa-nut fibre the sinnet that goes to the making of all nets; and in Samoa they take their work with them to the council meetings, as women in Europe take their crochet or knitting to the Dorcas Club. In the eastern groups all connected with fishing is too sacred to be touched by women. In New Zealand tapu lay on the making of nets and everything connected with the art. No cooking and no woman were to come near the net-makers, and there were only certain fish that women were allowed to eat. New nets were begun with karakias; and so punctilious were they in their attention to the tapu of nets that those who carried them had to be naked, lest their garments should have touched cooked food. So it was with hooks and lines; karakias had to be said over them; the aid of the god Maru or Tangaroa had to be invoked, and some of the fish were reserved for the gods, and some for the chiefs, and cooked in different ovens; a third oven was kept for the fish of the common people.

(9) This seems to show that fishing was an aristocratic employment. The Polynesian conquerors were evidently eaters of fish and expert fishermen when they migrated. And yet it is from the Patupaiarehe, or fair-skinned aborigines, that they learned the special mesh of their nets, this being the same as that found in the Swiss lake-dwellings. The pre-Polynesians were evidently as expert fishermen, and contributed somewhat to the knowledge and skill of the newcomers. Maui, their culture-hero, is credited with inventing the barb for the hook and the centre-piece for the eel-basket. One of the strangest interlacing of ideas is that of fishing and cannibalism in all the islands, and especially in New Zealand and Easter Island. The first victim in a battle is called "the first fish of Maui," and human bones are especially valued for hooks, whilst the dried head of an enemy was often used to tie a line to.

A Great Contrast between the Textiles and the Instruments for producing them

(10) But there is in all this the same warp of primitiveness and woof of advanced culture. This race, so high in the scale for the beauty of its textile products, is far down in the matter of implements to produce them. They have no loom like that of the Malays, which spreads through the whole of Indonesia—an affair of balanced frame, intricate mechanical contrivance, and the use of treadles, not unlike the old European hand-loom. Had the Malays had anything to do with the culture of the Polynesians, as is implied in the constantly used name Malayo-Polynesian, this would have been the instrument for weaving in the South Sea Islands. But still lower are they in the scale of culture than this indicates. They have not only no spinning-wheel; but they have not a distaff or spindle, which even the most savage tribes have at least the germ of. They roll and twist their threads, whether for ropes or mats, or, as in New Zealand, for woven capes or girdles, on the thigh, the method adopted by the British Columbians. Thus in the textile industry—an industry most affected by women in its earlier stages—they reveal a primitiveness that is astonishing, when we consider the advance of the races that surround them, and of the races and regions from which the last immigrants came.

Their Military Engineering is strikingly Modern

(11) A great contrast to this is the development of the art of war. The earthwork, ditches, and palisades of the pas have drawn unstinted praise from European military engineers. Little in modern warfare could surpass the skill of the old Maoris in the choice of a site or the industry and art in making it impregnable. And the art of siege was naturally as advanced, including the testudo of the Romans, the staged and movable

tower for attack, and various methods of setting the pa on fire. The development of this military engineering art in New Zealand far surpasses anything to be seen in Polynesia. There the only forts were stone refuges with occasional stockades for non-combatants in the interior, roughly made of boulders and rocks, as seen in Hawaii—a kind of fort occasionally seen in New Zealand too. The only exceptions to this are the wonderful megalithic forts in Rapa-iti, that little island far to the south of Polynesia, and the hill-fortifications of the Marquesans; and they are not to be compared to the New Zealand pas for skill and elaboration.

(12) The contrast bears its own natural significance. It is that the Polynesians, warlike though they were when they reached the new country, had, in many districts, if not in all, a powerful, wary, and vigorous foe to meet. It was no pleasure excursion for them, even though their aristocratic pride has obliterated the genealogies and records of their predecessors, and obscured the trouble they had to keep up for so long against a well-matched enemy, whom they had ultimately to absorb, often peacefully and as allies. Nothing else will explain the extraordinary evolution of military engineering, and the extraordinary precautions they took for the protection of their villages. It is useless to say that the few hundred immigrants that the six canoes brought required this because of their quarrelsome disposition; the country was spacious, and each tribe had room for centuries of growth, without trenching on its neighbour's land. And why did they depart from the traditional methods of their Polynesian forefathers, if there was not a formidable enemy to meet? Even though it is evident that some of the aborigines were unwarlike and easily subdued, exterminated, or driven out, the most reasonable explanation is that the strong, obtrusive new-comers had to learn from their enemies, and that the elaboration of earthworks was one of the things

they learned. New Zealand, as the cul-de-sac of Polynesia, and as a land of mountain and valley, forest and flood, was the natural scene of such an evolution long before the six canoes arrived. It must have been the perching place of many defeated peoples driven out of the tropical islands, and its climate and environment would harden their courage and character into something warlike.

Their Weapons are strikingly Primeval

(13) There is a strange antithesis to this picture in the character of the weapons employed, not only in New Zealand, but throughout Polynesia. The fundamental weapon is the club, as that for Africa is the slashing weapon, and that for America is the piercer; and the club is the most primitive of them all, another of the features of Polynesian culture that takes it back to earliest man. The most characteristic weapon of the Maoris, the mere—a short, flat, battledore-shaped instrument of bone or stone—is a modification of the club or braining weapon rather than of the sword or axe, or cutting weapon. It is peculiar to the Maori in the Pacific; but specimens like it are reported from Peru and North America. The onewa, or war-club of basalt, has more resemblance to those of Polynesia, except in material, the latter being generally of wood. But there are wooden modifications of the club in New Zealand too—the taiaha and the tewhatewha, one modified towards the spear or piercing weapon, the other towards the axe or cutting weapon. Both of them, as tending to be marks of rank in battle and of office in peace, probably came with the conquerors from Polynesia.

(14) Then there were spears proper, or thrusting and piercing instruments, both short and long being common to all Polynesia with New Zealand. The short were for close combat, the long for throwing, and sometimes for thrusting through palisades. They were of the most primitive type—

simply a long rod with point hardened by fire. It was only occasionally that it was barbed like those of the Melanesians and other more savage races. A bone or wooden dagger is spoken of, but it was evidently little used.

(15) Of cutting weapons there was but small development in Polynesia or New Zealand. The chief's short-handled green-stone battle-adze was more a mark of office than a weapon. And the miratuatini, or shark's-tooth sawing knife was not so much a battle weapon as an instrument for cutting up human flesh. A sword-like wooden weapon is reported as having been dug up in the Waikato, but, if it is a weapon, and not an eel-killer, it probably belonged to the pre-Polynesians: the Maoris did not use it.

(16) As little development is there of projectile weapons. One of the most singular things in this respect is the practical absence of the bow from all Polynesia and Micronesia, in spite of its almost universal use in Melanesia and Papuasia, and in fact on both sides of the Pacific, and in spite of the elastic withy bent over and used as a spring in the rat-trap showing the way to the bow. What are called arrowheads have been found in New Zealand; but they are as likely to be spearheads as arrowheads. It is as striking a phenomenon as the absence of pottery or the use of the fire-plough. Its sporadic appearance in Tonga, Hawaii, and Tahiti makes it even more striking. For the war-bow of Tonga came in during later times from the neighbouring Fiji. The Hawaiians, and by some it is said the Maoris, used it for old men and boys to shoot rats with, whilst in Tahiti it was used only in an annual ceremony, when a bow was brought out of the temple, and the men tested how far they could shoot the arrow, without thinking of directing it to a mark or target. The Hawaiian use implies scorn, as of a weapon once seen in the hands of despised foes; the Tahitian use seems to indicate it as the legacy of some honoured individual, who

could use it, but did not wish its employment extended to war. A Melanesian bow has been found embedded in clay on the northern coast of New Zealand; but that is evidently an incident of castaways. The Tahitian ceremonial bow is a simple one like that of the Ainos and some of the Americans. Clearly this phenomenon bars all possibility of there having been Mongol or Mongoloid or Melanesian immigration into Polynesia, as the absence of the blowpipe and poisoned arrows of Malaysia would alone disprove Malay immigration.

(17) The substitute for the bow was the throwing-stick, or kotaha, which, by means of a lash, discharged a dart or spear (kopere) sometimes as a torch to set the pa on fire, sometimes with a notched head made of the poisonous wood of the tree-fern, and intended to break off in the wound made. This was used chiefly in sieges, and had a resemblance to a weapon of the Incas. There were also one or two retrieving projectiles, the curved hoeroa of whalebone, the reti of the Ureweras, a quadrangular staff, and the kuratai, a stone dagger, each of them attached to a cord, so that it might be drawn back when it had done execution. A wooden barbed hook was sometimes thrown over a war-party to drag out members of it and disorganise it; the same was accomplished by casting a net. Both customs reveal the instinctively fishing race. But there was not so much trust put in these projectiles by the Maori as in his clubs and spears. This is emphasised by the singular absence of the sling, which, with round beach stones, was used all over Polynesia. And this subordination of cutting weapons and projectiles in war is probably a mark of the primitive culture that preceded the South Asiatic immigration.

They are as Primitive in Agriculture and Hunting

(18) Their agriculture and hunting were as unprogressive; the ko, a stepped digger, the chief implement in the one,

and the traps and snares for rats and birds, are no more advanced than those of the Melanesian or Aino or savage American. At whatever time the yam and taro came into Polynesia, there is every indication, in the large number of varieties, and in the elaboration of religious ceremony connected with it, that the kumara came long before the South Asiatic immigration. The fern-root is a specialty of New Zealand, and must have been resorted to by primitive peoples that could find no such sources as the cocoanut and the bread-fruit. The abhorrence of animal manure could not have come from the south of Asia, where the mammals had been domesticated, and agriculture was in full swing amongst all the peoples of that region long before the Polynesians could have left. It seems to point rather to the North Pacific, where peoples accustomed to nomadism on the continent settled down to agriculture without domesticated animals in the islands. And the wasteful method of burning the scrub on a patch, exhausting it by culture, and in a year or two passing on to another, belongs to the most primitive of all agricultural tribes, and to forest regions; it could not well have come from the cultured peoples of South Asia.

(19) In the same direction does the absence of all memory or relic of wheeled traffic point. All the southern Asiatic races, from whom the last migration could have come, had developed some form or other of wheeled vehicle many centuries before our era. Now there is not the smallest approach to the semblance of a wheel in any of their ornamentation, either painted, tattooed, or carved. There is the spiral and double spiral, the ellipse and the crescent of a bewildering number of varieties; but no complete circle, still less a circle with rays or spokes, a form that we should have expected in a people that worshipped the sun. The use of the hoop as a child's toy, and, covered with his tattooed thigh skin, as an insult to a dead enemy, indicates that the wheel

had been seen without being understood as a new means of easing transport. Manifestly the great mass of the population of Polynesia and New Zealand, in short, the element that gave the deepest impress to the culture, and primarily moulded the ornamentation, came from a land that had no wheeled traffic. This must have been either the north-east of Asia, and especially the Japanese Archipelago, or the Pacific coast of America; but in the ornamentation of civilised peoples of the latter there appears ever and again the wheel or rayed circle, and even occasionally in Central America the winged wheel, such as we meet in old and buried Assyria. This was clearly a representation of the sun as a deity, and had the Polynesians with their sporadic sun-worship come thence, they would have doubtless introduced the symbol into their ornamentation. There is no alternative left but the north-east of Asia, if we are to explain the absence of all semblance of the wheel in the art-forms of Polynesia, and especially of so artistic a people as the Maoris. The legends attribute the teaching of both tattooing and carving to the aborigines; and the Hakuturi, or wood-fairies, and the Ponaturi, or sea-haunting fairies, who seem to have either taught or given the models for carving, are but the imaginative transformation of pre-Polynesian peoples. Others, like the Turehu, are not only spoken of as fairies, but as human beings, who amalgamated with certain tribes from Polynesia. So Mataora, who taught the spiral tattooing to the Maoris, had to go down into Po, or the underworld, to learn it, an indication of the northern or long-winter source of the art.

(20) Had all the inhabitants of Polynesia come from the south of continental Asia just about the beginning of our era, they could not have failed to bring with them ideas of the wheel for ornamentation, if not of wheeled traffic for use in daily life. And there was plenty of level ground in all the larger islands for the resumption of the habit.

(21) Polynesian agriculture had doubtless a double origin. It is doubtful which birthland the use of stilts points to, for there are low sandy stretches on the coasts of both North-west India and North-east Asia. That the habit is an old one is shown by the story of Tamatekapua, who went on stilts to steal the fruit of his enemy, Uenuku; and in some versions of the legends he is not merely the chief of the Arawa canoe, but a giant. The story evidently belongs to mythical times, and the habit may go back to some birthland before the arrival on the Asiatic coasts. The dancing stilts of the Marquesans take the usage back still farther, and in their ceremonial use seem to indicate derivation from some other race that was looked up to or revered.

(22) Whatever the source of this usage, the agriculture of the region draws its customs from both North and South Asia, for women as well as men have a share in it. Much of it is consecrated to religion; but there is much of it, too, that women can assist in without profaning tapu or angering the gods. Even the chiefs took their place in the field beside the women and slaves when cultivation or harvesting was in hand. This could not have occurred unless the immigrant aristocracy had been accustomed to agriculture as an honoured and immemorial art, nor unless the art had also existed in the islands before they arrived. Other arts were too sacred to let the women or the slaves have any share in.

The Medical Art of the Maoris is wholly Polynesian and Exorcistic

(23) The art of healing, for example, so often in primitive times and peoples, as in the most modern times, shared in by the women of the community, was wholly in the hands of the men; for it was almost altogether a matter of karakias or rites and incantations, and the women, like the Patupaiarehe, had no karakia. Most primitive medicine is

to a large extent sorcery, or in other words, like so many diseases of both savage and civilised, an outcome of imagination; and of all semi-cultured or barbarous races perhaps the Polynesian was the most ridden by imagination in this department. The islanders were not much harassed by diseases. The common ailments of humanity, toothache, rheumatism, indigestion, and the rest, were doubtless fairly common amongst them, though their open-air and active life must have reduced them to a minimum. Eye disease arose from the chimneyless houses, and skin diseases, including leprosy, from the use of food, and especially fish, in a state of rottenness; but the region was practically quarantined for thousands of years—in fact, the absence of all sign of the epidemics of the Asiatic coast, like beriberi, cholera, and plague, seems to indicate that these vast congestions of population, that are the nesting-places of such diseases, had not yet crowded on to the Chinese and Indian shores, when Polynesia was finally isolated; and the tremendous effects on the Polynesians of even the epidemics of childhood, like measles, show that the diseases could not have taken root there in previous ages, else the virulence would have been less. The islands, in fact, came to have a horror of the approach of European ships; evidently the epidemics the first voyagers had left had decimated the ranks of their inhabitants. Every indication seems to point to such absence of the widespreading diseases as only complete quarantine for thousands of years could have secured.

(24) It is evident that in the pre-European times two-thirds of the diseases that harassed the Polynesians must have originated in imagination or the influence of the mind on the nerves. Thus it was that amongst them the curative profession was in the hands of men. As long as the matriarchate endured it was probably in women's hands all over the world. With the patriarchate all rites, and, in fact,

all religion, would pass to the other sex, and with them therefore all the curative art, and in a healthy region, such as pre-European Polynesia was, the chief scope of this art lay in the province of belief—a large province, even in the most modern medicine. The priest became the doctor, too, and not only that, but the inflicter of diseases. The extraordinary extension of the system of tapu was due to this double power of the tohunga over the imagination. There were a few simples, chiefly herbals, for the common ailments, and the Maori, from his experience as a cannibal and an exhumer of ancestral bones, was an expert bone-setter, and in so healthy a race wounds were easily cured. But all the other degenerations of human flesh, due to the entrance of demons, or the anger of ancestral spirits, or sorcery, in other words, due to the influence of imagination, were beyond such common remedies. As it was, the force of the idea became so strong that it could kill a man at sight; in fact, this was the final test in the wharekura or theological school of a candidate for the rank of tohunga. If he could not kill by mere force of mind the victim pointed out he was not fit to become a priest; and once a man had got the idea into his mind that he was to die, nothing could save him.

(25) The medical art, both offensive and curative, was a branch of religion, and was taught in the theological school or wharekura, though there were some incantations that could not be taught even there, but only in the open or in the forest. To this teaching only the first-born of noble or priestly families could be admitted, and they had to be taught the secrets for many years in an atmosphere of mystery, and tested again and again before they could be passed as full priests. No woman could approach during the courses of teaching, the only exception being an aged priestess. And this seems to indicate that the last immigrants brought some of their women with them, who introduced some relics of

the matriarchate into the new region. The building was intensely holy, and food could not be cooked in or near it.

(26) The extreme elaboration of sorcery and the predominance of the man in medicine imply that the conquerors came from a race well advanced. Theirs was not the mere jugglery and stupid practices of the northern shaman. It was rather the refinement of sorcery so widespread amongst the South Asiatic nations before our era. It was a fine art, both there and in Polynesia. Of one thing we may be sure, that where the power of incantations was felt to be supreme the intruding men monopolised it.

(27) It is clear from all this that the Polynesian is stratified in his arts and industries, as in his beliefs and customs. There are traces of the matriarchate; but there are still clearer traces of conquest, once at least, if not oftener, of an aboriginal people by an immigrant aristocracy.

CHAPTER XIV

POLYNESIAN ART: CARVING AND TATTOOING

When the Arts become Masculine, Art Develops; but in Priestly Hands it becomes Conventional

(1) If the arts and industries of Polynesia stood alone, the contrast between their primeval and advanced phases would not be so piquant. Arts develop into art; human efforts applied to the practical needs of life are the basis of the arts; human imagination overriding the mere utilities is the basis of art; in the later or higher phases of civilisation the two often coalesce, art contriving to serve a useful purpose as well as the imaginative satisfaction of the senses. In the early stages or the evolution of culture they are kept rigidly apart, though often allies in the service of religion and symbolic meaning. As soon as art appears distinct from the arts we may be sure that man has entered into his rule of domestic and social life; hunting and fishing and their subsidiary employments no longer monopolise his attention; the matriarchate in the household has passed away, with its failure to specialise, and man has become lord of the inner life as well as of the out-door. Religion has penetrated into every detail of existence, and its symbolism demands the development of art. Art, in short, appears in the period of the masculine specialisation of the arts.

(2) The earliest art we have any record of is, of course,

the pictorial. In the caves of Perigord have been found etchings of mammoths, reindeer, and horses that are extraordinary in their beauty of outline; and from some in Portugal finely tinted frescoes representing animal life have been lately reported. Now, these are the efforts of early palaeolithic man, who dwelt in caves and felt the sting of the glacial period, at least a hundred thousand years ago. The singular thing is that no such faithful draughtsmanship has been found among the remains and traces of neolithic man in Europe. He, as well as the man of the copper and bronze ages after him, satisfied himself with geometrical and conventional drawings. It seems, in fact, that this is the first advance on the primeval truth to Nature. It is probably due to religious symbolism. Palaeolithic man introduced life in its reality into his drawings and etchings and paintings, oftenest in the individual, but occasionally in the group—a man bitten by a snake, or leading a horse, or deer in flight or in combat. It was doubtless the necessity of marking out the special animal of the tribe that led to such skill in line-drawing; and it was doubtless the beginning of totemism that by frequent practice brought the palaeolithic artist to such perfection. The moment religion seized on the totem and the art of representing it, the priest or chief and not the instinctive artist drew the figures, and they became stiff and conventional and ultimately symbolic; and no one, however clever, dared to depart from their untruth to life. All the true artist could do with them was to weave them into an arabesque or pattern, that in the general effect pleased his artistic sense. In this religious or symbolic stage of the graphic arts no advance can be made except in the grouping of the symbols and in the varied artistic designs that the grouping may bear. A later stage, generally due to a new religion, frees the artist to some extent from these fetters, but never leaves him wholly at

liberty to move as his genius dictates amongst his materials and his imaginings.

Polynesian Art had reached the Conventional Stage, but with Great Luxuriance in the South

(3) It was the symbolic stage that both painting and sculpture had reached in Polynesia; or, rather, they had attained the result of the symbolic stage. In painting the art was allowed great freedom in the grouping of the conventional symbols, so that at last the original form that repeats itself was completely obscured. In sculpture it was still in the mere elements of the human figure in most islands, tending here to make it rudely true to nature, there merely to symbolise, and again to free the limbs and features from convention and give them genuine life.

(4) Carving may be taken first; in the course of evolution it probably was not first, as decorating the human face and figure with pigments, based as it is on the natural amorous vanity of man, was doubtless the first of all arts, followed by painting other things as it has done the human figure. But carving shows Polynesian art at its highest. Apart from the fine faces and stalwart forms of the men, it was this that most struck the early voyagers, and its luxuriance increased as they voyaged southwards, the development being in stone in Easter Island and in wood in New Zealand. In the Cook or Hervey group there is much elaborate and intricate wood-carving, especially in the handles of their ceremonial axes and in their drums; but there is nothing of the bold sculpture that characterises the two southern outliers of Polynesia. That such a development is due to the more bracing climate we may reject at once, though that may have had its influence. Scenic beauty again will not bear investigation as the true cause, for Easter Island has none.

The most probable common cause apart from exotic influence is human stratification: these two as the farthest south lands of Polynesia were culs-de-sac; a race or tribe once in them could not be driven farther south. Hence they were probably the refuges of all navigating peoples expelled from the tropical islands to the north. And it is this layer on layer of humanity that produces the great civilisations and empires and advances in culture; for crossing of breeds is the only effective method of creating numerous new competitive varieties and types. And it is out of a vast number of these that the fittest surviving will be most likely to show an advance on the past. Nor is it merely human beings that come under this law, but human ideas and human arts. As an extensive land area, with great variety of country, mountain and plain, forest and grass land, New Zealand would give shelter to the exiles from islands to the north, till they were able to hold their own and amalgamate with any new-comers. Thus every phase of their culture would have a chance, and the various types of art that flourished would come into vigorous competition, ensuring the survival of the fittest. And the great timbers of the country made certain that, if the art that was to dominate was carving, it would be carving in wood.

(5) In New Zealand there is too great a variety of carving to belong to one stage of culture or one pure race. There is the minute symbolic carving and scroll work that is so plentiful on paddles from the islands; these are evidently connected with religion, for wherever we find a paddle or axe handle or drum elaborately and minutely carved, we may be sure that it is not for ordinary use, but ceremonial. This is especially the case with those from the Cook group, and most of all from Mangaia. And this is the Polynesian island that comes the nearest to New Zealand in the beauty of its carved work, though by no means in its variety. In its

carvings many of its conventional forms are human faces or figures degenerated into geometrical forms, chiefly the rectangle, square, and triangle, but with an occasional appearance of the crescent or curve. Sometimes it went as far as the open work of the Maori, but it was either with minute and trivial or with heavy, ungraceful effect.

(6) The Maori seldom or never allowed the pattern or individual figure to override the general impression. However minute and elaborate the details may be, one generally receives from the full design the sense of grace or richness. Symmetry never fails the artist, inexact and primitive though his tools were. Never a line or curve is faulty or out of place, though they may interlace in a bewildering arabesque, and though they may vary to suit the material and its inequalities. And no two designs are exactly alike, the artist's imagination never failing him in its freshness and originality, even though he may be hampered by tradition that is to him absolutely sacred.

The Origin of the Maori Curve and Spiral

(7) But the feature in which Maori carving art transcends all the rest of Polynesia is the use of the curve, and especially the spiral. In the bow and stern pieces of the canoes it is called by the natives pitau, the name for the centre frond of an edible tree-fern. And there it has indeed a strong resemblance to the young half-uncurled fern frond. But in tattooing and in the carving on the bargeboards and lintels of runangas and patakas it does not so closely resemble this ; whilst in some of the older bow-pieces of canoes the two spiral whorls are more concentric than the fern frond, and in far the larger majority of those open-work carvings it is a double spiral that appears, and not a single spiral, such as this vegetable model would suggest. And it is difficult to

understand why the Maori artists should have taken it as the pattern of the main ornament on their canoes. On the food-store one can see its relevancy, as the fern-root was such an important constituent of their food supply, especially before the kumara was acclimatised, and from the tree-fern the pith was extracted as another source of sustenance. But on the large canoes there is no relevancy in it, unless we take it in a far-fetched way as representing Tane, the god of the forests, out of the trees of which the canoes were made. But if this is their model, why did such supreme artists omit the most graceful element in the fern frond, the long, tapering, feather-like stem, as it unwound its spiral into a leaf? To take the end and omit half the beauty does not seem consonant with the great artistic taste that produced these lace-like wood-carvings. Doubtless the resemblance to the fern frond is an afterthought, suggested partly by the analogy, and partly by the name, pitau, given to a canoe without a human figurehead.

Tattooing may have given the Cue

(8) There are two alternative probable sources of the ornament. One is the tattooing on the faces of the warriors. Undoubtedly decoration of the person comes long before any other; for the desire of appeal to the feminine imagination appears earliest after the methods of satisfying hunger in the culture of primitive man. As amongst birds and most of the animals, it is the male amongst untutored mankind that has the self-decorative passion first. When civilisation is evolved, with its elaboration of masculine pursuits and its comparative seclusion of women in the household, the passion changes its sex. Amongst the Polynesians the woman was still the burden-bearer, and warlike and hunting man had to appeal to her imagination by personal adornment as well as by personal courage. Hence his eagerness that every inch

of his body that was not covered should exhibit the most graceful ornamentation his race was capable of. And as his prowess and skill as a warrior rose, the imagination of the face-artists must have been stimulated to advance also, that he might conquer the hearts of the younger women. And the transition from temporary painting to the permanency of tattooing must have been greatly aided by the necessity of courage in the endurance of pain that is entailed, as well as that perennial desire of the human heart to be "beautiful for ever." The round outlines of the cheeks, the temples, the nostrils, the lips, and the upper thighs and arms may well have suggested circular and curving ornamentation; they certainly lent themselves easily to it once the artists invented it. But if it began with concentric circles on these parts, it was not likely to develop into the spiral; as Professor Haddon, in his "Evolution in Art," says, "There is a great tendency for spirals to degenerate into concentric circles." "In fact, one usually finds the two figures associated together, and the sequence is one of decadence, never the evolution of spirals from circles." And though the lips and nostrils suggest the spiral, the other rondures rather suggest the concentric circle.

Whence the Spiral in Tattooing?

(9) But even if we accept tattooing, the more primeval art, as the model and inspiration in wood-carving, we have still to find the origin of the spiral in tattooing. The finger-prints used as signatures or ownership marks might well have been one source of inspiration to artists who must have studied minutely every line upon the human form and epidermis. But the spirals on the fingers are too elongated and too involved in outside concentricism to have given the models to the artists of the older spirals, which are simple and rounded, especially in wood-carving. Of the elaborate spiral

work on the face and figure they may have been the inspiration. But there is not so much resemblance between the finger-print and the spirals of the canoe and house carving.

(10) There is much to confirm the idea that the art of tattooing amongst the Polynesians had the origin of its variety in the tribal or totem or individual marks. Even to the present day the carver of the ancestral wooden images distinguishes the tribe of the ancestor by the peculiar tattooing; each individual seems to have had some variation, by which he might be known either alive or dead on the battlefield. In the older style of tattooing, called moko kuri, consisting of dots and dashes or vertical and horizontal lines, it seems to the European eye more easy to make distinction; for occasional variation is sometimes introduced in the form of a mark like an S. And in one of Weber's illustrations to "Captain Cook's Voyages" a chief of Santa Christina is represented with tattoo marks that might well be mistaken for a reporter's shorthand; his brow is divided by four cross lines into panes or compartments, each of which contains its own special straight lines, or hooks, or spirals, or interrogation points. Some of these might possibly be the rude beginnings of the New Zealand spiral tattooing; but they are divided by long ages of development from it, for it is indeed a fine art. Again, in the Marquesas and on Easter Island there is elaborate floral and faunal tattooing that might have suggested some of the curvilinear conventions of the New Zealand art; and on the lower limbs of some of the Maoris we see elaborate leaf decorations, such as are to be found in the painting of the rafters of their carved houses.

(11) But the tattooed natural history on the bodies of the Eastern Polynesians is as different from the graceful spiral arabesques of New Zealand as the palaeolithic mammoth

and reindeer etchings from the neolithic geometrical designs. And the latter, though less pictorial and less natural, are undoubtedly the more advanced. That the delicate spiral varieties of the Maori face-patterns could have developed naturally out of the curves of the Eastern Polynesian floral and faunal decoration does not seem possible; still less possible is the evolution of the dot and dash of the older Maori tattooing into the later fine art. The change is rather revolutionary than evolutionary, and seems to indicate a new radical element that had cultivated the art before the Polynesians arrived, perhaps an artistic element that the Japanese found in their archipelago when they intruded and partly absorbed, partly drove south over the ocean. Mataora, the legendary inventor of the new spiral art, is said to have learned it in Po, or the under-world of darkness; and we have seen reason to think that this often means in the tropics the long nights of the northern winter, and the people that came thence and had their paradise in the bosom of the earth instead of in the sky.

(12) One feature of the art that seems to militate against its coming from a conquered people is that it is a warrior's decoration. The common men of the tribe and the slaves had no right to it; and the women only when they were about to be married, and so become part of a warrior's household, were allowed to be tattooed, and then only on the lips and the chin, and occasionally over the eyebrows. And in many of the pictures of natives in the books of the early voyagers and travellers there are married women without any sign of tattooing. In the illustrations of Tasman's visit to New Zealand none of the natives, either male or female, are tattooed. In Weber's volume of illustrations to "Cook's Voyages" a native family is pictured wholly without tattooing—they must have belonged to one of the defeated aboriginal tribes; they have wavy, almost curly, hair, and they have

kilts on that seem made of skins. Yet, on the other hand, we find Colenso and other observers reporting that the women of the Southern tribes were often tattooed on the face like men; and in one of the illustrations to "Cook's Voyages" a woman is so represented.

(13) But there must have been many types of aboriginals in New Zealand at different stages of culture, as we can see from the varied styles of dwelling. And it is in the North Island especially we find legends of primitive peoples, supernaturalised into fairies, who teach the new-comers various arts. It is not an uncommon thing for a conquering aristocracy to absorb an art from the conquered and then prohibit the teachers from using it. Undoubtedly the Polynesians brought tattooing with them to their new country; but the sudden change from the stiff dot and dash to the beautiful spiral and curve and scroll combination must have been due to no mere change of environment and climate, but to new teachers and models, and after learning and monopolising the art they kept it surrounded with the religious rites and incantations of the old style, in order to secure the monopoly, allowing only the women of the conquered that they took into their households to have any share in it. This exception was made because the conquerors had darker skins and objected to the red lips and the fair skin of the women as unnatural and ugly, the reason the Maori men still give for retaining the custom with regard to their married women, whilst abandoning it themselves.

Tattooing the Face was a Fine Art

(14) And this suggests that one of the *motifs* of the art was sexual; it was intended to increase the influence of the individual over the imagination of the other sex, an intention brought out more clearly by the body tattooings

of the Samoans, Tongans, and other islanders. In New Zealand the concentration of all the resources of the art upon the face would alone reveal that there had been a revolution in clothing through the change in climate; a man has no passionate longing any more than a woman to decorate what will never be seen. The islanders had little or no face-tattooing; there was sufficient canvas for the artist in the broad skin-expanses otherwise exposed in the tropics. That the Maoris still continued to tattoo other parts shows their tropical origin and their habit of stripping for war and for work, that had followed them even into the bracing climate of New Zealand. Some of the tattooings of the Polynesians seem to be a reminiscence of garments or body-coverings; the Easter Island women and some of the men of some other islands have an imitation of stockings and sandals or mocassins, and others an imitation of drawers; it looks as if in migrating from a colder climate to a warmer the body-coverings were discarded, and tattooed imitations were substituted. It is even said that the Polynesians who came to New Zealand had no tattooing on the face, but only about the thighs.

(15) Be this as it may, it was face-tattooing that ultimately became the essential of a warrior, and on it the finest art of the race was concentrated. This may have been due to the custom of preserving the heads of friends to mourn over, but it was still more due to the necessity of wearing body raiment in the colder winters of the new country. At any rate, the thigh-tattooing degenerated into a conventional pattern pretty much the same on all bodies. The face patterns are infinitely varied, and especially marked by the beauty and delicacy of their details and the grace of their general effect.

(16) And that there were true artists amongst the operators is evident not merely from the results, but from the de-

scription of an operator and his work given by Earle, the draughtsman to the Beagle Expedition. He had been a slave; but men from all parts and all tribes crowded to him to have their faces beautified, and he had grown wealthy and influential. This indicates that, though there was so much that was tapu, or sacred, about the operation, the conquering immigrants accustomed themselves to the conquered and low-born operating, an indication that goes far to confirm the evidences that the fine art was acquired from some aboriginal race. The greater beauty and variety of the forms and details than in house-decoration, or even canoe-carving, shows the effect on art of an untrammelled career for the artists. Special families were devoted to carving. But in tattooing it was the individual that succeeded, and won both wealth and fame; the talent was allowed a free career, in spite of birth or environment. And the artist knew that his works would have enduring fame; the faces he had done would touch the hearts of generation after generation, for the heads would be preserved as heirlooms in a family, like the portraits of ancestors in Europe, done by great painters.

War was the Primary Aim of Tattooing

(17) It is plain, then, that though it may have afterwards taken into it a sexual and amorous *motif*, the custom had its origin amongst so advanced and warlike a race in a more limited sphere, that of war and the yearning for fame. Some of the accounts given by natives indicate that it was a record of a warlike life; the moko was added to as the owner of it added to his achievements in battle. Yet it is not always the greatest warrior that shows the most elaborate face-pattern. There must, however, be considerable truth in the statements. For the moko was looked on as a heraldic blazon to be proud of, part of it being the privilege mark of the family or tribe,

most of it the sign of the individual glory acquired by feats of war; and the head after death was kept for long years by the family as a reminder of the warrior's deeds. Even during life the moko was used by the individual chief as a signature to land transfers.

(18) Undoubtedly its main intention, as far as the face was concerned, was warlike. It was intended to make the fighting-man look more formidable; and, as grimacing and tongue-thrusting formed one of the essentials of the art of war, as is evident from the war-dance, the moving spirals and scrolls would add greatly to the terrifying effect that was meant to be produced. But red ochre was the favourite colour for all for bellicose purposes. The face, as well as the body of the warrior, was often smeared or striped with red, occasionally alternated with bands of black. Blue and yellow were now and then used on the face, chiefly by girls, seldom or never by men. The question naturally arises why, when red was their favourite colour for all purposes of war, the warrior should have the permanent colourings of his face in black or dark blue. The answer is obvious, that the colouring was exotic like the art and was adopted with the art. We know that one at least of the aboriginal races, the Patupaiarehe, abhorred kokowai, or red, and the canoes of the district to which they belonged were painted black instead of the usual red. And this, with the passion of the Maoris for the fiery colour, goes a long way towards confirming the indications that the spiral or scroll tattooing was a pre-Polynesian art.

CHAPTER XV

POLYNESIAN ART: CARVING AND DESIGN

THE CANOE SPIRAL HAD PROBABLY A DIFFERENT ORIGIN FROM THE TATTOOED SPIRAL

(1) WAS it from tattooing that the beautiful openwork carving of the canoes and house-lintels took its model? Undoubtedly there is great likeness between the designs of the two arts. But it is to be noted that the human figure or face, neither directly or indirectly, neither distortedly nor conventionally, enters into the one art, whilst it is the basis and groundwork of the other. Not merely does the human form take a definite place in every bargeboard and lintel of a house, and in every bow-piece of a canoe, often distorted or conventional, still clearly a human figure, but the subsidiary coil and scroll-work that fill up the spaces between the figures and surround them, take the same outline in a crude and vague way. In the Maori tattooing, even in the broader spaces of the body, there is never found any item of the human face or form, although a face or bust is quite common in the tattooing of Easter Island and other parts of Polynesia. The scroll-work of the two differs completely, excepting in the use of the spiral.

(2) If tattooing was an inspiration for the designs of the wood-carver, there must have been some other; and this, as far as the canoe is concerned, we can naturally find in the forms that ropes take, either as binding material or as coiled

or sprawling over the platforms or the bottom of a canoe. Even the spirals can be accounted for in this way more easily than from the tattooing spiral or the fern frond. For it is, unlike these, a double, or interlocking, spiral, such as one would get by doubling a rope, and then coiling the double; whilst the intertwisted figures between the two spirals of the bow and the various spirals of the stern, even when they simulate a human form, are as manifestly rope-patterns, exactly like the withy patterns found engraved on the ancient stone monuments of the British Isles, imitations of primeval basketry. A maritime people like the Polynesians and their predecessors could find no more appropriate design for their canoe carved work than the coiling or intertwisting rope, which they so often used in navigation, and which, made of cocoanut fibre, was accounted sacred in the islands. It is true that the Maoris call the canoe-spiral pitau, evidently from the tree-fern frond. But their metaphors and analogies do not carry one far towards the origin of their implements or customs, and they are not much more fitted to give an accurate explanation of a phenomenon that is prehistoric than the Wiltshire gentleman or scholar or peasant is to explain the origin of Stonehenge.

The Human Figures in the Canoe Ornamentation are Unstoried

(3) As for the figures that adorn the bow and stern pieces, the two that look into the canoe are evidently guardian, perhaps ancestral, images; the huaki, in the bow, generally in a contemplative attitude, the puhi-kai-ariki, in the stern, being in an attitude of energy, as if engaged in propelling the ship, often puffing his cheeks. The tete, or figurehead, even though evidently, from its legs and high head and protruding tongue, in its origin a human figure, has, with its arms thrown back like wings, and its sharp tongue, taking on the semblance

of a beak, come to be more like a sea bird preparing to rise from the water. The transformation is probably deliberate; for the great god of the Easter Islanders, Mekemeke, is a composite of bird and man, or sometimes bird and turtle. The prostrate figure under the two spirals is said to be Maui, a most appropriate symbol for a far-voyaging canoe. Then there is an elaborate coil-ornamentation under the boarding or deck on which Maui lies; and in most cases the snake-like intercoiling has a monstrous head, with two long tusks, or tubes, bending out from the mouth, as in the marakihau of some east coast carved houses. It is evidently a taniwha, or sea monster, probably a composite of a walrus and a sea-snake. The two tusk-like mid-ribs that form the core of the high stern-carving seem also a reminiscence of the walrus. They are generally carved on their surfaces, and in most the bent point of the smaller one is held either by an arm manifestly exerting force, or by a twisted rope-bight or by a hook. These seem to point either to some mythical mastery of a tusked sea animal or to methods of catching it.

(4) There ought to be legends connected with each of these figures, as there are about almost every item of the important Maori implements and arts and customs; but none have been reported. It looks much as if their origin had been submerged in the submersion of the lore of the aboriginals that were mastered or absorbed. Had these carvings been pure Polynesian, it would have been the duty of the priests in wharekura, if not of the artists themselves, to hand on the legendary story of their origin. The great carved war canoes were a specialty of the east coast tribes, and were traded off to other tribes. And the east coast is that region which, according to tradition, absorbed most of the aboriginal blood. The carving families of the natives were evidently taken over by the Polynesian immigrants. And as usual the legends of the new-comers and aristocrats

obliterated those of the absorbed tribes. There was no human blood spilt to celebrate either the beginning or the completion of these works of art, as there was at the founding of a great house or the launching of a great canoe or even at the tattooing of a chief's daughter. And this again seems to point to some racial difference between the origin of this art of maritime carving and that of the mere art of canoe-building.

House-carving revels in the Human Figure

(5) The east coast of the North Island between Poverty Bay and Tauranga is also the home of the best carved work for the houses; and into it too, especially on the lintels of the doors and on the barge-boards, the same intertwisted rope-work appears as in the canoe carvings; but the rope is generally square and often braided, and far oftener than in the canoe-pieces takes the form of interlocked withylike conventional human figures. And as a rule the carving is not so fine or lace-like, except on the lintels of the doors and on the barge-boards of the foodstore. As the rope-coil is the basis of the canoe carving, the human figure, monstrous or realistic, grotesque or conventionalised, is the basis of the house-carving.

(6) And the idea of most of the figures seems to be that of scaring away or terrifying intruders or enemies. Most of the images have enormous cavities for mouths, that remind one first of all of the devil-dancers' masks of Ceylon, and next of the masks worn by actors in the Greek drama. The likeness is so strong in the double-bayed aperture that community of origin is suggested. But out of the mouth of most of the Maori figures a huge tongue is thrust, intended to symbolise terrifying defiance. In some a bird-headed composite monster is threatening the figure from either side.

In others there are interlocking coils of a snake-like monster, or a composite lizard monster. The tekoteko on the ridge-pole is as a rule a realistic little human figure squatting or with shortened legs, and similar figures are to be found at the bottom of the pillars that support the ridge-pole inside the carved house. Along its walls the great rectangular slabs that support the roof are carved into monstrous ancestral images with enormous mouth and protruding tongue, and often with a demon-like figure between the legs. Some of the figures on the bargeboards and outside boards, especially of food-houses, are still more demon-like with their haliotis-shell eyes, their grotesque mouths, and their enormous oblique and pointed eye-hollows, that seem to pass into pointed animal-like ears; they are like nothing so much as the mediaeval images and pictures of devils, figured often in church carvings, and revived in Auld Nick of the illustrations to Burns's "Tam O'Shanter." All the figures have a striking reminiscence of the gargoyles on the ancient cathedrals of Europe. There is undoubtedly the same idea at the basis of all those terrifyingly grotesque figures—that of scaring off evil spirits from the buildings they are intended to ornament. This is possibly the reason of the special attention given to the ornamentation of foodstores; the demon-like images are meant to scare away the spirits that in flying to the entrance of the under-world might pass across the house and spoil the food, the gift of the Rongo.

Ancestor-worship and the Sense of the Supernatural inspire it

(7) There is at the bottom of this luxuriance of terrific figures the idea of ancestor-worship. For there was great confusion in the native mind as to the destiny and character of the spirits of their relatives and friends, arising from

the coalescence of different racial beliefs as to the world and the life beyond death. In the midst of it there was the constant, steady belief that the dead were conscious of, if not present in, the domestic and other life of their descendants. And, as in all primitive religions, propitiation mingled in a singular way with terror and shrinking. Both feelings seem to find scope in these carved goblins. And over and above the spirits of ancestors and friends, to conciliate or drive off, there was a special class of mischievous demons to guard against in the house—the spirits of the unborn, who tried to take revenge on the living for the wrong done them in having died before birth. The Maoris were afraid of the doings of these; and doubtless their neck ornament, their much-prized heirloom, the hei-tiki, that in its semi-human, sometimes chaotic, outlines, head thrown on the shoulder, and limbs crowded together, suggests a stage in the development of the human embryo, was worn as an amulet to keep off these evil spirits.

(8) As a rule their house-carving has an ancient under-world significance, only now and again the more abstract gods being introduced, as for example the deities of singing, dancing, and oratory in one lintel. It is quite different with their kumetes and their carved boxes; they are often supported by two human figures; and in carving these not only do the artists show keen humour, but also a fine appreciation of truth to nature and human anatomy. The kumete in the Auckland Museum, with the wrestlers stretching over it, could not have been better done by the best European art-schools. In the house-carving there is no animal figure introduced that is not composite or monstrous, a bird-headed snake or a snake-headed lizard. These taniwhas, or chimeras, are evidently meant by their monstrosity to suggest the supernatural. But there is no hint of the dog or the rat, with which the Polynesians were so long familiar, although they

believed that the dog went to their Hades, albeit by a separate route. There may be a reminiscence of a domestic fowl, which many of the islanders had before the six canoes left in the bird-head of some of their monsters; but it is more likely to be a reminiscence of the moa, or of the immense bird of prey, the pouaka, of South Island legend; or, still more likely, a relic of that composite bird-headed divinity, which we meet in Easter Island, and which must have been common at one time to all the islands.

(9) And here that perennial problem—the three-fingered hand of the old carved figures—might perhaps find a solution. In almost all cases the three fingers are widely separated, like the claws of a bird, and in a carving from the front of a foodstore in the Auckland Museum in which the central goblinesque figure is threatened by the bird-headed chimeras, it is difficult to distinguish the hand of the human figure from the claws of the monsters; that to the right has actually four fingers to its claw, and the hand of the human figure has on the point of what would be the middle finger in a man's hand a spur, or backward projection, a feature that appears in the hands of many of those monstrous images, though occasionally on the little finger. In most of the carved human monsters there is really a fourth finger, or rather spur, concealed on the other side of the weapon or limb grasped; the point of it often appears. It is possible that this claw-like appendage may be meant, like the wings sometimes set on the shoulders of our saints and spirits, to indicate that death has given to the dead something of the bird in its power of transit through the material world; it may suggest, like the bird's heads of the taniwhas, an element and a power that are beyond ordinary nature and beyond the human. Certainly the three fingers were considered by the old carvers a sacred essential, to depart from which seemed to them sacrilege.

Their Stone-carving is Elementary

(10) Taken as a whole, their carved woodwork forms a marvellous contrast to their carving in stone. This may be partly accounted for by the hardness of the greenstone, in which they usually worked, and the inefficiency of their tools. But when they turned to softer stone it was just the same: their imagination had its wings clipped, and except in the heitiki they refrained, as a rule, from all ornamentation; their meres were severely simple, and so, also, were their pendants for either the ear or the neck, even when made out of steatite. It looks as if the ancient stone-workers, who spread out over the Pacific in early times, took but a feeble hold on life in New Zealand. And yet there are isolated specimens of finer work. Mr. Augustus Hamilton, the director of the Colonial Museum, has in his possession a piece of stonework found in New Zealand that is exquisite in its cameo-like carving. It looks like the handle of a stone dagger, with insect-like figures, probably meant for spirits returned from the under-world, delicately carved, partly on the outer curve of the handle whorls, partly on the body.

(11) And if this be taken along with the little stone bust, with half-simian face, found in the Marlborough Sounds, the tattooed faces cut on boulders near Kawhia, the black stone whorls sometimes found, and unexplained by the Maoris, the korotangi, or steatite petrel, and several carved steatite dishes, it seems to indicate a fitful effort towards the development of the art of stone-carving. The red-pottery-like bust, also found in the Marlborough Sounds, may indicate a feeble effort in the same way of an artistic pottery people from the coast of South America, where the art of making human faces and busts in pottery reached a high pitch, and there is a curious confirmation of this hint in Maori cosmogony, provided it is not tainted by the story in Genesis; in all the Maori versions of

the creation of man and woman—and there are several—Tane moulds them like a potter, generally out of red clay. It would have been much more natural for a wood-carving people to sculpture out of wood the mould into which life was to be breathed. It looks, indeed, as if the racial element that contributed the story of the creation of Tiki to Maori cosmogony had the art of making terra-cotta human figures. That man is made out of red clay, and not of earth, gives the story a native unbiblical air.

The Designs on Baskets and Mats are Poor

(12) Had the beginnings of this art of pottery flourished in New Zealand, instead of dying out, we might have had a development of designing in basketry and mat-making equal to that in tattooing and wood-carving, for pottery arises from basketry through smearing the baskets with clay for cooking, and then, in its greater freedom of ornament, it reacts upon the designs of baskets and mats. Compared with the designs of the American Indian textiles, those of the Polynesians are poor, both in quality and in variety; for they make no use of the spiral or scroll work that is so conspicuous in the tattooing and carving of the Maori. They use nothing but angular and linear patterns on their mats, their fans, their baskets, and their tapa. In fact, all the dyed designs of their tapa are manifestly taken from textiles, and those stiff checkers and lines and combinations of straight, horizontal and vertical lines that predominate in the islands were evidently taken with the six canoes to New Zealand. The feather-mat work was as clearly Polynesian in origin, for it never admits anything but the straight-line geometrical patterns, though it allows of a greater variety of colour than the textile brown, white and black, because of the greater variety in bird-colouring. The furthest the taniko, or border-pattern, goes, in the way of freedom, is the combination of two squares or two or more triangles

laid angle to angle. Two other facts seem to indicate that this designing in mats and ketes and the borders of mats was not derived from the pre-Polynesians; it was the one department of weaving in which men took part, and the making of the red or brown dye at least was sacred. The lattice-work panelling of the carved houses has not much more freedom of design. Occasionally there is a departure from the straight-line patterns, and a monstrous human figure is brought out; but it is stiff in its outlines.

There is more Freedom in the Rafter-paintings

(13) We are in a different world when we look up to the roof and see the designs painted on the rafters and the cornice. The colouring is as monotonous, black and red on the white ground of the wood; but in the designs the artists revel in the curve, the spiral and the scroll. The nearest approach they ever make to the straight line is the design in which long bird-beaks seem to interlock, probably the same as that which Professor Haddon found in the south-east of New Guinea developed from the beak of the frigate-bird. A few are clearly conventionalised from the grinning mouths of the images or from sharks' mouths. The design supposed to be taken from the maungapare or hammer-headed shark, with its involution and interlocking of curves, has certainly departed far from its model. That which is said to represent the patiki or flounder it needs a smaller stretch of imagination to see the origin of. We have little need of ingenuity to find the *motif* of those that represent the forest world, as for example those that imitate the flower of the scarlet kowhai. By far the larger number clearly draw their inspiration from the leaves of various trees and bushes. In many of them the leaf is not disguised in the least, just as in many of the old tattooing patterns. The artists evidently found most of their designs where they found their timber. They were

worshippers of Tane, the god of forests. And a confirmation of this appears on the rafters of the carved house at Matatua, in the Urewera country. Crudely but vigorously drawn, as if by a beginner of talent, there is the picture of a tree with a man snaring birds on it. The rock-paintings found especially in South Island caves and gorges of rivers are not on so high a level as the Esquimaux or American Indian picture-language. They are probably but the marks or signatures of pilgrims or travellers as they took shelter.

(14) It is strange that in such scenery and with such consummate art-sense there is no nearer approach to the landscape. But the crudeness or absence of landscape is a feature of all European painting, too, till less than three centuries ago. There was not the eye to take in the scene as a whole, however much its colour or individual detail might impress the sensuous imagination.

(15) If the New Zealand art of sculpture and design—what might be called static art—be taken as a whole, it must be placed very high in the scale of culture, and form a complete contrast to many features of the Polynesian life. It is a development of neolithic or conventionalised art, and not of palaeolithic art, or art that copies nature. And thus it is that, though there is nothing Mongoloid in it, it comes nearer to the art of Japan than to that of any other country bordering on the Pacific. And when only an ocean intervenes, and all the races that lived in New Zealand must have been maritime and far-voyaging, we cannot well hesitate as to there having been some common racial source for the two. The Japanese must have absorbed much of the race that they drove off southwards, and absorbed with them not only their maritime habit, but their artistic habit. The difference between the two is partly to be accounted for by the dominance of Chinese influence afterwards on Japan, and the importance of South Asiatic influence on New Zealand.

CHAPTER XVI

POLYNESIAN ART: DANCE, GAMES, MUSIC

Dance and Music are Siamese Twins in Early Times

(1) In static art, the art of carving and design, we found a marvellous development in the south, and especially in New Zealand, due probably to the crossing of numerous cultures in that *ultima thule* of the Southern Pacific, to the wider area, and to the luxuriance of the timber-supplying forests. The same deep contrast between the Polynesians and the Maoris is not to be found in their dynamic or mobile art, least of all in the most elementary—the art of dancing and that of music. For here small advances made by the crossing of races do not accumulate so easily; they cannot be retained so well in material form, for excellence in these arts is more individual.

(2) And yet dancing and music are amongst primitive people far less individual, far more a matter of mass combination, than in civilisation. For rhythm is their essence, and binds them close together, like body and soul. Music is rarely divorced from dancing in the early stages of culture, and seldom advances beyond mere rhythm into melody and harmony. To a modern European ear it sounds not much more than rhythmic noise, a mere marking of time for concerted movement of the limbs, monotonous and unattractive, if heard without its origin and inspiration—the dance.

Polynesian Dancing shows Signs of its Religious Origin

(3) And the dance is in its origin pantomimic. It is meant in all its earlier stages to imitate the action in which success is desired, and has a religious atmosphere and guidance. Dancing in modern Europe has been divorced from religion, and, having long lost its picturesque or imitative purpose, has passed into the conventional stage, in which a new movement or step has no aim except variety and perhaps grace.

(4) Polynesian dancing has advanced far on the road to conventionalism. It has shed much of its pantomimic purpose, and its religious meaning, and in this it reveals the collision of two or more cultures. In a region marked by so much that it is so highly primitive, nothing but the clash of different religious systems could explain its divorce from rites and ceremonies and its appearance as an almost purely secular art, intended to amuse and delight an assembly of spectators. Had it not been secularised, the women could not have taken part in it amongst a people who looked on all religion as an affair of men; and that it was once wholly religious is shown by its character. It is not like European dancing, a harmony of "twinkling feet." It is wholly occupied in posturing, waving the arms and bending the body, as if before a shrine. It is the upper part of the body that is chiefly engaged. Where the feet come in, it is only to effect the occasional advances or retreats, as if to and from the altar, or in the resounding thud of the war-dance. The Polynesian dance is oftenest stationary.

(5) The old religious significance was still retained in the funeral dance of the Maoris, and perhaps in their triumph dance and their war-dance, and here and there throughout the islands it appears, as in Nukuhiva of the

Marquesas group during the religious festivals held to celebrate the maturity of the breadfruit; the men alone take part in the dancing, and dance naked. In short, whatever dances were monopolised by the men we may be sure still kept something of the old religious atmosphere about them.

(6) War amongst the Maoris was the most sacred of all employments; the fighting men were tapu, and could not cook food or carry cooked food, and the war-party had to be consecrated and deconsecrated by the priest, with most elaborate rites. The war-dance, often indulged in just before battle in order to rouse daring to frenzy and to shake the hearts of the enemy, had something religious about it, and was confined to the men. It was a New Zealand development, and with its wild, goblinesque movements of body, limbs, and facial features, and its terrific energy and music, formed a piquant contrast to the soft, posturing, licentious dances that prevailed all through Polynesia. One has to go to Melanesia and Papuasia for analogies; and these are not to be compared, in spite of their hideous masks. The Maoris turned their faces into close imitations of their demonlike carved images. But the thrust-out tongue, the wild rolling eyes standing out of the head, the fierce grimaces, and the quivering hands and fingers, with the accompaniment of the deep-drawn cries and the stamp of feet, had all the advantages of living movement to add to the terrifying effect. It is difficult to efface the deep impression that its massive energy and furious, almost epileptic, passion makes on the mind, when produced by hundreds. It surpassed in fury anything that kava or any other drug or fermented liquor could have given to the harmonious movements of a mass of warriors. And in the olden days it had the grimmest of religious purposes. Now it has degenerated into an exhibition and a spectacle.

(7) But it shows better than any others the pantomimic

origin of all dance. Every act, every movement, every grimace was intended to give a realistic picture of the battle the warriors were about to enter, as well as to stir to overwhelming frenzy their religious zeal. And most of the other dances in which men alone engaged were more or less realistic imitations of this war-pantomime. Even in the islands the dances of men reveal shadowy reminiscences of war. To this is doubtless due the predominance of the upper part of the body, and especially of the arms and hands, in their dances. If these had originated in hunting or nomadism, or even agriculture, we should have had more use of the legs in them. But there is one curious use of the legs in dancing that is not easily explained without some knowledge of the animals used in agriculture. It is the backward kick that forms the *pièce de résistance* in the amusements of the two farthest separated branches of the Polynesian race—the Malagasies and the Easter Islanders; otherwise they merely posture and use their arms; but the men in dancing have grown most expert in imitating the savage kick of the four-footed animal.

The Appearance of Women in the Dance marks the Decay of its Religious Significance

(8) But as a rule in all these islands the women mingle with the men in the dance, or have monopolised it. The religious element has, therefore, completely disappeared. And a lascivious pantomime has taken the place of the bellicose gestures. The same degeneration had begun in New Zealand before the arrival of Europeans; but it had not gone far. The energy that the cross-breeding with the vigorous aboriginals and fighting with them too imparted, along with the keener and more bracing climate, checked the tendency to demoralisation that the Polynesians doubtless brought with

them from the islands. It is the presence of the pakeha, with his luxuries and muskets, and the removal of the invigoration of war that have let the lascivious dances overshadow the war-dances. The women have taken more and more part in them; and dancing has become a spectacular amusement rather than an exhibition of religious and warlike fervour. Some of the women's dances and gestures must go far back. The power of moving up and down the whole front of the body from bosom to waist, like the twinkling quiver of the hands and fingers, was not acquired in a few generations.

Children's Games show the Marks of Discarded Religious Rites

(9) And the rhythmic grace of the poi dance, which is so little of a dance in our sense of the word that it can be performed sitting, must come down from the immemorial, doubtless, like so many games of the young, the imitation of some long-discarded religious rite. Many of the Maori children's plays and games are almost the same as those of Japanese children and those of European children: flying kites, skipping with a rope, the top, the hoop, the bull-roarer, the giant's-stride swing, walking on stilts, throwing somersaults, hide-and-seek, ducks and drakes, counting out, hunt the slipper, knuckle-bone, and cat's cradle. The bull-roarer has preserved only a little of its original religious significance; it is used to drive off spirits from a chief's body at a tangi. So, too, has the top; though chiefly an amusement for children, it is employed by the warriors to provide chorus for the dirge over their fellows slain in a battle they have lost. Kite-flying retained something of its serious purpose in its use for sending messages to another tribe, or as an omen-indicator and sorcery-weapon when blown across a

besieged pa. Whilst this is one of the few races whose children use the hoop that reveal its primal aim amongst adults; the warriors were accustomed to insult their fallen foe by stretching the tattooed skin of his thigh on a hoop and trundling it from man to man. So cat's cradle (whai) tells more of its primeval origin as it appears amongst the Maoris than amongst other races. It was doubtless an effort of palaeolithic man to represent a stage or dramatic exhibition with lightning changes of scene. For with the Maoris its various stages are called houses, each with a different name. According to White, in his "Ancient History of the Maori," it represents the drama of the creation. The game, under the name of whai, is found in many of the island groups, and the word seems also to imply something connected with witchcraft, a charm. There is another name for it in New Zealand—maui, which also means witchcraft. And tradition tells that the game was learned by Rongomai in the realms of Miru, the goddess of the under-world, who guards the gates of death, and has all the divinities of sorcery around her. He learned at the same time all the knowledge of the charms the Maoris had, and also the game of ti, which is played by Scotch boys under the name of "How many fingers do I hold up?"

(10) This derivation of these games from Po or the under-world indicates again origin from the long-nighted winter of the north. And that some of the scenes in the drama of cat's cradle were to represent the adventures of Maui, the northern culture-hero, and the Great Lady of Darkness, points in the same direction. The revival of the giant's-stride swing (moari) as a part of the Hauhau religion seems also to indicate that this children's game was in its origin religious. With skipping and throwing somersaults it was doubtless used by adults in primeval times as a method of paralysing the reasoning centres and inducing frenzy, like the whirling of the

dervishes and the old religious dances. Walking on stilts, again, is a game that belongs to Maori children, as it does to European; but Maori legend points back to serious use of it by the Arawa hero, Tamatekapua, in stealing from fruit trees. Religion, on the other hand, has preserved another relic of the old habit in the stilt-dance of the Marquesas group, which suggests singularly enough the stilt-dance of Yucatan on the neighbouring American coast.

(11) The Maoris, in fact, attribute the origin of their games as well as their music and dancing to two goddesses—Raukata-uri and Raukata-mea, the sisters of Maui—thus pointing back to the primeval mother-governed household or matriarchate. It is as significant that the Ureweras, the comparatively peaceful blend of Polynesian and aboriginal, should have chosen twin brothers as the presiding deities of these; it looks as if the pre-Polynesians were farther removed, like the Aryans, from the most antique household based on mother-right than the South Asiatic Polynesians.

(12) There is doubtless much light yet to be thrown on the customs of submerged races and religions from the games of children. Some of them, such as, for example, knuckle-bone, or, as it is called by Scotch children, "the chucks" (from chuck, to toss, an old Teutonic word), with its use of round beach-pebbles, or "chuckie-stanes," probably goes back to palaeolithic times; though the English name of knuckle-bone, or dibs, shows in the use of bones of domestic animals an adaptation to the nomadic or agricultural stage. The toboggan (papareti), so favourite a sport with Maori boys, down a smooth grassy slope or a well-wet earth-slide, is doubtless a relic of snow-clad mountain-sides, probably in the Far North, perhaps in Europe. It belongs to Hawaii, also; there the sledge is called papa, but the game is holua, which is also a name for the winter north-wind.

(13) The extraordinary number of these games and plays

common to European and Maori children has no insignificant bearing on the kinship of the primeval population of Polynesia. For if we can imagine any conservatism that surpasses that of religion and of women, it is that of children in their games. They resist all innovations there with a fervour that is practically religious, because they are still in the dominantly emotional stage that represents the mental condition of early man, and that withstands the corrosive influence of reason or novelty.

The Dance evolved Oratory in New Zealand and the Histrionic Art in Polynesia

(14) It was doubtless the religious atmosphere in the worship of Tu that kept the Maori war-dance so free from innovation till recent times ; it was in the hands of men, and their influence extends to other dances, even the lascivious and obscene, preventing them from degenerating into mere spectacular posturing of women. Hence it was that the dance helped to evolve oratory, a purely masculine art in all but the most advanced civilisations. The fugleman in the hakas must be an orator, if he is not a poet ; for he has to invent rhythmic speeches of a highly figurative style to interval the choruses. All the imaginative power of the chiefs and priests in New Zealand developed in this direction, and speeches became as essential to every meeting of Maoris as they are to every type of assembly in England. The tohungas and chiefs grew adepts in moulding and rousing the feelings of their audiences ; and though they revelled in figures of speech till the Oriental arabesque overlaid the original aim and meaning, as important an essential of the orator was the dramatic gesture and action. He paced hither and thither, at first with slow dignity ; but when he had roused himself and his hearers to the requisite pitch, he postured, and grimaced, and acted as wildly as he

would in a war-dance. But the art ever remained an extemporaneous one; its products were for the occasion, and not meant to be handed down by tradition, like the songs and incantations. Thus it was not a branch of literature, but retained the traces of its origin in the dance. It was mimetic and masculine, and hence to some extent religious.

(15) The literary side of dancing took quite a different course in Polynesia, and especially in Eastern Polynesia. Samoa and Tonga, though they admitted women to the exercise of the art, and developed the lascivious side of it more than New Zealand did, show their greater affinity to the latter in keeping it simpler and more extemporaneous. In the east of the island region it was the dramatic element of the dance that was developed; but it was only in the Hervey group and the Tahitian that it was developed into histrionic art. Cook saw again and again the performances of the Areois, those aristocratic actors of Tahiti, who sailed from island to island, and entertained the people with their dramatic dances, whilst themselves indulging in the most licentious excesses. He once saw sixty canoes setting out full of these histrionic celibates about to make a tour of the islands. One play he saw represented a successful robbery, another an accouchement, a third the habits and acts of himself and his countrymen. We hear of their libertinism and policy of infanticide from all early visitors. Such a singular and deliberate degeneracy was doubtless due to the havoc that the luxurious idleness of these Eastern Polynesians and the enervating climate worked upon their moral fibre. It would have been well-nigh impossible in New Zealand, with its hard-won subsistence and its bracing air. The strenuous character of the Maori dances, as of the Maori life, obstructed the evolution of the drama, histrionic though the Maoris were in this art and its offspring, oratory.

The Elementary Character of the Music hampered the Development of the Dancing Art

(16) But what barred the way to development of this art and those that sprang from it was the elementary character of their music. There was not only no harmony and no possibility of melody, in spite of early travellers speaking occasionally of their singing in parts, but the range of notes was limited to the pentatonic, like that of the Chinese and all barbaric or half-developed civilisations. In an appendix to Grey's "Polynesian Mythology" a London musician, a Mr. James Davies, puts some of the music he heard from a Maori into notation that reveals its inherent monotony. Only here and there is there any departure from the customary range of two or three notes, and then only in a descent at the close. It is true he shows that there are half and quarter notes increasing the variety within the monotonous range, but he confesses that he might be wrong; the differences seemed too subtle for the European ear. Cook found the Tahitians reject the harmonies of his instrumentalists, whilst delighting in the bagpipes and the drum; the simple notes and short range of these instruments was most like their own music.

The Drum and Percussive Instruments were their Favourite aids to Singing, and again reveal the Primitive Character of their Culture

(17) The Polynesians were in fact limited by their highly primitive musical instruments, which probably only imitated the music they heard in nature. The first natural sound to attract the human ear was doubtless thunder and similar loud and abrupt repercussions. Hence the most widely spread and earliest of all instruments is the drum or gong. In this the Maoris have retained the most elementary form—

that of a suspended wooden slab, and it takes a very subordinate place in their culture compared with its place in the islands. There it rises into great importance, not only in the music and the dance, but in religious ceremony; it becomes a highly ceremonial instrument, like a chief's axe or baton. In New Zealand it was used only in war and siege. The sentry kept thumping it during the night to show that he was on the watch. The simplicity both of its structure and of its use, and its absence from religious ceremonies, seem to show that it was aboriginal. That it originated partly in maritime pursuits is apparent in the canoe shape often given to it.

(18) Another percussive instrument was the pakuru, as elementary in its construction and in the music it produced as the gong. It consisted of an inch-thick stick held by the teeth and the left hand, and a striker held in the right. The variation in the notes arose from the movements of the lips. It was evidently meant, like the guitar, for serenades and other amatory music. The idea of a musical instrument of percussive elements was far more elaborated in the islands. The ihara of Tahiti was much like those of all the rest; it is described by Ellis as a single joint of a large bamboo, with a long slit in it, laid on the ground and beaten with sticks; its sounds were hard and discordant, and it was never used in worship, but only for amusement, whilst the pahu or drums were used in the temples as well as in war and dancing and dramatic performances. The Tongans and Samoans elaborated the idea. The latter arranged bamboos like a pan-pipe in a mat bag and beat upon them; they also struck bamboos closed at one end, and of different lengths, at intervals on the ground in order to produce a gradation of notes. The Tongans developed this method still more, as described by Cook in the account of his third voyage. But the Maoris preferred, as the accompaniment of their

great dances, the primeval means of percussion supplied by their own bodies. Their favourites were striking the bosom with one hand, whilst the other was made to twinkle and quiver aloft, and to bring the bare sole of the foot down with thunderous effect on the ground. The islanders had their favourites too. In the east they struck the bent left arm with the right hand ; in Samoa they clapped their hands ; and in Tonga the women snapped or cracked their fingers like castanets. But the limit of notes in all this percussive music was primeval in its narrowness, in New Zealand most primeval of all.

Their Flutes were Extremely Primitive, and the Nose-flute was Exceptional and obstructed Musical Development

(19) It is the same when we turn to the only other type of musical instrument that Polynesia had—the wind, or blowing instrument. There is the extreme of simplicity and lack of variety of effect ; and New Zealand has it in its greatest bareness. There are the fife, the flageolet or flute, and the trumpet of various kinds. Of these the flute was the instrument most capable of development in the range of notes. But here a unique custom barred the way. It was played, not with the mouth, but with one of the nostrils, the left in Tahiti, the right in New Zealand. Now, in order to give range, both hands were needed as stops for the holes. But the need of one hand to stop one of the nostrils precluded this. The result was that the largest number of notes in a Polynesian flute was five, and as a rule one of these was below for the thumb. How could the scale be other than pentatonic at its utmost range, where the chief musical instrument was confined to five holes or notes? And in New Zealand there was more often than not only one hole in the centre, and the variety of note was obtained by the greater or less extent of this that was covered.

(20) The route of this inefficient device for bringing the breath to bear on a music-tube was Java, Borneo, Celebes; for the nose-flute is found in all three islands. Had this not pointed so definitely to South Asia as its source, one would have been inclined to assign the origin of the use of the nose-flute to some climate, like the northern or sub-Arctic, where the bitterness compelled the habitual closing of the mouth. That it came into Polynesia with a very ancient migration from Indonesia we may be sure; for it did not find its way to Madagascar, although the peculiar stringed instruments of Malaysia went thither. It was not used in religious, but in amatory music throughout the islands—a sign that it did not belong to the last conquerors, but to the aboriginals; and, though in the islands bamboo was preferred for it, in New Zealand, in the absence of that universal provider of Indonesia, bone—and especially the leg-bone of an enemy—was used for it in preference to wood and other material.

The Trumpet is Ceremonial

(21) When we turn to the trumpet we are outside of common life, and within the precincts of worship. All through the islands it was used in the temples and by the priests, like the drums, though also a war instrument. In New Zealand it was the instrument of the chief and the warrior; it was used to warn of an enemy's approach, and to announce the visit of a chief. In the islands the trumpet was generally a large murex shell, with a bamboo inserted near the apex. The Maoris also used the triton-shell, with a wooden mouthpiece, as a trumpet; but they preferred the long wooden trumpet with a wide end to fit the mouth. Usually there was a reed or tonsil inside near this to vibrate; sometimes there was a hole in the middle to be covered or uncovered in order

to vary the note. There was a bent trumpet used in the South Island, that has been compared to a trombone; and from Taranaki has come a calabash-trumpet with two or three holes. The roria, or Jew's-harp, was simply a slip of bark held between the lips and made to vibrate. The pan-pipes reported once or twice from New Zealand, and frequently from Tonga, was a rude affair in which the reeds, varying from five to twelve, were not arranged to make a regular scale of notes.

The Rarity of Stringed Instruments is accounted for by the Rarity of the Bow

(22) A stringed instrument, a monochord, called utete, was used amongst the Nukuhivas of Eastern Polynesia. It consists of a bow strung with catgut, and is played by holding one end between the teeth and scraping the string with a small stick. A tetrachord, called *ukeke*, was used in Hawaii—usage that is explained by the Hawaian use of the bow. This rarity is the more striking that such instruments exist all over Indonesia, and all the uncultivated and most of the uncultivated races of Asia have them. The usual form in Malaysia is the same as the valiha or Malagasy violin, made by raising the fibrous cords of the outer cuticle of a piece of bamboo on small wooden bridges.

(23) Wherever the bow is used there is the germ of the stringed instrument in its twanging. Yet throughout America, where the bow is universal, there are no stringed instruments reported except from ancient Mexico. The Mongoloids of Asia, who use the bow, prefer the music of the strings. The absence of the bow from Polynesia, except as a ceremonial or unwarlike instrument, sufficiently accounts for the limitation of the instrumental music to percussion and blowing. But it is a singular thing that, though bamboo was introduced

into it, it did not adopt with its immigrants from Indonesia the bamboo violin or guitar. Doubtless the rejection of the Indonesian bow accounts for the strange phenomenon.

(24) Thus it is that the various arts interdevelop or inter-obstruct each other. War and religion have almost everything to do with the beginnings of both dancing and music, and the two in early times are closely allied. Later art secularises itself, and tries to fling off the bonds of war, and become the servant of everyday life and everyday pleasure. Then women are admitted into the ranks of the performers in these mobile or dynamic arts. In New Zealand men kept stronger hold on them than in the islands, partly because of the intense development of war. And yet they were more secularised than in the islands except for warlike purposes. This was doubtless due to the absorption of so many aboriginal tribes, who had music and dancing of their own, and yet had no karakia, or share in the religion of the conquerors. Thus may we account for the primitiveness of both the arts in Polynesia, and their extreme primitiveness in New Zealand. The absence of the bow as an instrument of war takes us back to palaeolithic times; its rarity limited music to the notes of the primitive drum and flute; and the unique phenomenon of a flute blown from one of the nostrils limits the notes to five. The picture is piquantly primeval, especially against the background of the great development of the histrionic art in the islands and of oratory in New Zealand.

CHAPTER XVII

POLYNESIAN ART: THE LITERARY

Literature comes Long before Writing, and Prose is the First to be Secularised

(1) So deeply has printing left its impress on the Western mind that it is difficult to think of literature without books. The connection between the two was looser and less essential in ancient times, when writing was the only means of recording, and a manuscript book was a rare possession.

(2) But long before a script or alphabet was thought of, there was a vast and ever-growing literature in the world, not merely in somewhat cultivated races like the Sanskrit-speakers when they reached the Punjaub, but amongst barbarous and even savage tribes. There are a few primitive folks, like the Fuegians in South America, and the Andaman Islanders in the south of Asia, that have no trace of a literature, or that, like the Veddahs of Ceylon, have only one legend—that of their origin. But, as a rule, even savages have some method of expressing their feelings rhythmically, and something about their forefathers that they can hand down from generation to generation. The now extinct Tasmanians, who belonged to the very earliest stage of palaeolithic culture, used to sing extemporaneously the deeds of themselves and their ancestors, indulged in recitative dialogue with pantomime, and had legends of gods and demons and the origin of fire.

(3) But these germs of literature go little beyond the intonation and action of daily intercourse. It is when music and

dancing become the handmaids of religion that literature proper emerges. Then is there a diction, or form of speech, evolved that differs essentially from that of everyday life; it is dignified, rhythmic, and often melodious in form, figurative in thought, passionate and often plaintive in emotion, and soon, as belonging to the most conservative of all human phenomena, religion, archaic in language; and even in its highest and latest phases it cannot doff these habits with ease, long after it has been completely secularised.

(4) It is prose that first flings off the trammels of its parents —music, dancing, and religion. The teller of legends and stories trusts to the language of the moment when he repeats them to new audiences or new generations; he is most engaged by the incidents and names he has to use; and considerable latitude is allowed him in their embellishment. Involved though these are in the holy past and the worship of ancestors, they admit of comparative freedom in the expression and in the introduction of episodes.

Hence the Prose Legends of Polynesia are Full of Variations and Contradictions

(5) In White's "Ancient History of the Maori" we can see this prose literature in process of formation. Every tribe has its own version of the legends of the gods and the heroes, as seen in the first two volumes. We might have expected a people so strict in their attention to accuracy of genealogy and incantation to cling rigidly to the one form of the story of their gods. But here we have tribe after tribe giving its own version, in which, indeed, we can recognise the nucleus common to all; but there is often little else common; every detail varies with the tribe; one will give it badly, another with a labyrinth of romance. The stories of Whiro and Tinirau, or Maui and Tan-whaki, and even of Rangi and Papa, Tane and Tu vary

in a bewildering way. The Higher Criticism would make but short work of them. How the high priests of the Maori could have kept their faith in them undisturbed, in presence of the manifest inconsistencies, contradictions and absurdities, it is difficult to understand; for they had many of them the keenest of philosophical, if not sceptical, intellects, as we saw in the chapter on Polynesian theology and mythology.

(6) Sir George Grey, in his "Polynesian Mythology," leaves a different impression on the mind. For he has smoothed out the inconsistencies and rejected the disagreements and variations, in order that the stories might have their full effect as romances of the primitive mind. He is a harmoniser of the legends rather than a reporter. And the result is very satisfactory to the seeker of fairy stories and romances, and anything but satisfactory to the student of ethnology or folklore, or even the history of the Polynesian mind. Had the author of "Polynesian Mythology" fulfilled the title of his book, and sought farther afield than New Zealand, his task would have been tenfold more difficult to harmonise the sacred stories of the various branches of the Polynesian race. Their language and customs make one clear, broad impression of a racial unity. The legends, especially the divine legends, diverge in the most astonishing manner, not merely in the details, but in the prime essentials. The names of the gods and the demigods are common to some extent; but their places in the pantheons of the various groups, nay, of the various islands of each group, and the functions and honours of the divinities, differs as widely as in those of the different branches of the Aryan-speaking races. The general moulds of the divine stories, and characters, and manners, are not unlike, guided as they are, first by the psychological unity of mankind, but still more by the racial unity. But the names attached to them, names that are often manifestly the same in origin, are assigned to them as if drawn in a sweepstake. Every group,

nay, every islet, has taken its own path in recreating its pantheon.

The Secularisation is an Evidence of Mixture of Race

(7) In short, the art of legend-making had continued vital in Polynesia down to recent times. There was no sacrilege in evolving the old gods or in inventing new gods, none in altering and embellishing the stories handed down by ancestors or in making them brand new. In other words, the art of moulding the Polynesian Olympus had been long secularised; even though it remained largely in the hands of the priests, it had also become an art of pleasure for the long nights; though the incantations were handed down and taught amid the strictest mystery in the school of theology, the tales of the gods and demigods were told around the fire or the lamp by any who knew them—by preference the old men.

(8) This revolution in the attitude towards sacred things could not well have come about except by mixture of peoples, or races, that had different pantheons and different traditions. Purity of a race, in other words complete isolation of its racial culture and ideas, is the only thing that will preserve its religion unchanged and unchangeable in every feature; and here we have unmistakable evidence of a widespread and vigorous commingling of races and peoples in the secularisation of the art of religious tradition and legend, even if we had not already had enough in the revolutionary changes of the Polynesian pantheon. Gods and their histories and functions are but pawns on the religious chess-board of Polynesia, to be moved hither and thither with illimitable caprice. Nothing but stratum on stratum of people and belief can explain this singular phenomenon. There was no tapu on the stories of the gods; all might listen to them; and the secular imagination might still work on them, unhampered by more than the

mere general mould of tradition. Once or twice we hear of heterodoxy, as when a high priest is condemned for teaching that Tiki made man, and precautions are taken by stopping the mouth and ears of his corpse against the heresy passing into others. But this is a rare exception, and we may take for granted that the art of divine legend-making and divine story-telling had lost the consecration it had originally had as long as each element of the ultimate amalgam of Polynesian population remained pure.

THE LATER LEGENDS WERE COMPOSED MORE IN THE STYLE OF OUR FAIRY ROMANCES, AND REVEAL AN ADVANCE IN MORALITY.

(9) Of course this is still more true of the later tales of the heroes and their wars, the navigators and their adventures and migrations, such as are collected in the later volumes of White's "Ancient History of the Maori." The heroes, like Kupe and Turi, Tamatekapua and Ruaeo, no longer become demi-gods, though they may be transformed into giants nine and eleven feet high. They have to deal with fairies, and monstrous wizards and taniwhas, and have a supernatural atmosphere thrown round them. But Olympus is closed, and we have here nothing but the wonder-working imagination of the fairy-story-teller, the same that, when Christianity had spread over Europe, turned the unconverted, unsubdued tribes of the mountains and lake, forest and cave into pixies and kelpies, dryads and gnomes. Half the stories in White's later volume are the outcome of the religious imagination that has lost faith in the manufacture of gods, and indulges in raising semi-supernatural fabrics on a basis of fact; the other half are histories of the heroes and their deeds, still green in the memory of the dying generation.

(10) There is clear evidence of moral progress in the New

Zealand records of the story-telling art. As we go farther back towards the gods and their times we encounter coarser and coarser incidents, gross adulteries and incests, fierce cannibalism, wild injustice, undiluted filth. The nearer we come to purely human times, the more we have of humane dealings, tender passion, lofty generosity, pure chivalry. The fairy stories are mellowed with gentle and kindly relationships between the supernatural and the humans. And down in the merely human annals we have such tales of tender love and high feeling as those of Hinemoa and Tutanekai and of Takaranga and Raumahora. The tales of the gods are no more gross or inhuman than those of Greek or Teutonic mythology. And though cannibalism and human sacrifice appear far down in the less supernatural series of Maori tales and legends, there are alongside of these a chivalry and generosity and loftiness of feeling that form a striking contrast to the European tales of classical or mediaeval or even modern warfare. We have indeed the clearest evidence of the primeval sources of Polynesian culture being far lower in morality than the stage it reached before the advent of Europeans; and in the partial secularisation of the prose literature a proof of the mingling of various racial and religious elements. There are traces of all the constituent peoples having improved even before they mingled.

The Incantations remained Musical and Religious to the End, and evidently belonged to the Last Immigrants and Conquerors

(11) It is only the incantations in the poetical literature that reveal the same progress. For they, as handed down unchanged for generations, being steeped in the religion—that greatest preservative of the past—give true pictures of the manners of the primeval past. Every turn and act of life

that belonged to the conquering minority had its incantation; every step in the making and launching of a canoe, every movement in preparation for war, in battle and siege and in returning from the expedition; every item of every ceremony, birth, baptism, naming, cutting of the hair, tattooing, death, mourning, burial, re-burial of the bones; every act in the industries that the arikis condescended to engage in, net-making, weaving the ornamental border of mats, dyeing with red, kumara-planting and kumara-harvesting. There were no incantations for the employments of common men or slaves, and in the lives of chiefs' daughters there were only a few.

(12) And all the incantations were in the peculiar unequal rhythm of the Polynesians; they were meant to be poetry, and were accordingly chanted or intoned by the priests, often with response or chorus. This chanting with response is a marked feature of the Hauhau religion; and when visiting Matatua in the Urewera country, the shrine of Hauhauism, last summer, I heard this going on in the carved house morning, noon, and night; and in the middle of the night I was wakened by the religious exercises of my host and hostess in a tent beside the whare. The husband intoned and the wife gave the responses. That this was not derived from the Anglicanism in which Te Kooti, the founder of the new religion, had been brought up is clear from an observation of Crozet on the religion of the Bay of Islands, when he visited it in 1772: "I noticed that the savages who came to sleep on board our vessels were in the habit of communing with themselves in the middle of the night, sitting up and mumbling a few words that resembled a prayer, in which they answered one another and appeared to chant. This sort of prayer lasted eight or ten minutes." Nocturnal intoning and response evidently come amongst the Maoris from very ancient times.

(13) These ancient incantations are generally marked by

constant recurrence of a phrase or sentence, appeal or injunction, evidently meant, like the refrain or burden of our song, to indicate poetical form. It expresses the natural periodicity or tiding of emotion. And it is generally explicit in its meaning. But it is not so with the rest of the chant; the references are often to some obscure god or hero or event in legendary history, and are couched in obscure metaphor that does not always reach articulateness or grammar. This is doubtless the stamp of antiquity. And the whole is often steeped in the fierce passions of primeval times, nakedly and violently expressed.

(14) It is no rash inference from previous indications to hold that these karakias or religious chants belong to the last incomers and conquerors, and picture the earlier phases of their culture, probably long before they set out from their birthland in the south of Asia. Religion preserves prehistoric ethics and beliefs, as the amber does the prehistoric fly. Women had nothing to do with either the making or the use of incantations. For poetry, like its parent religion, was, amongst the Aryan peoples at least, who had early thrown off the matriarchate, the affair of the men. That women should have come to any share in poetry and its guiding spirits, music and dancing, reveals the solvent power that new races and new environment had over Polynesian religion. In all the islands they entered more into song and dance than in New Zealand, probably because the enervating climate turned the men to indolence and luxury. In Tonga they were most emancipated in these and other respects, perhaps because of the proximity of Melanesia and its matriarchate. The rest of the poetry was largely secularised, for women shared in it, and it became very noble.

(15) It was rather the growing secularisation of the poetic art that in New Zealand admitted women to share in it. They take a large place in the waiatas and laments and

dirges, not merely as themes, but as singers. Even in the old legend of Irawaru, that belongs to the time of the demigods, it is Hina that laments in poetry over the transformation of her husband into a dog by her brother, Maui:

I weep, I call to the steep billows of the sea,
And him, the great, the ocean-god.
And let the waves wear their mourning, too,
And sleep as sleeps the dead.

O heaven, now sleeping, rouse thee, rise to power:
And O, thou earth, awake, exert thy might for me,
And open wide the door to my last home,
Where calm unruffled waits me in the sky.

But as a rule the more ancient the song or lament, the more is it occupied with the feelings, desires, passions, and deeds of the men, and the more evident is it that it was written by a man. There are dirges over the dead slain in battle, sung by the whole tribe, dirges over children who have died a natural death, laments over the loss of the kumara crops or over the sweeping away of the eel-weir, and laments of the hungry, the defeated, the enslaved, the men taken in battle and led to sacrifice. It is only as we come towards modern times that love-songs begin to predominate, and many of them are sung by women. But the most striking feature about these is that they are often by married women expressing lawful and noble love and sorrow. There is never a mention of the lawless lover or paramour, who takes such a large place in the song and ballad of Christendom. Free, even chartered, though the Maori girl might be before marriage, and little though the emphasis that was laid on that ceremony, after it there was never a thought of disloyalty or lawlessness; of course there was in actual life; but not in the poetry or romance.

The song of love is that for a husband at a distance from his wife, beginning:

> How weary my eyes are with looking for thee,
> And watching the hill o'er which thou didst pass!

The lament is that of the wife who has had words of anger used to her by her husband, that of a wife abandoned by her husband, that of one who mourns over her husband slain in battle, that of a mother over her dead daughter. The dirges are those of widows. And they are instinct with the beauty that comes from true love and real grief, along with a refined poetic sense:

> But father, come, come back to home,
> And sleep with all thine own beloved ones now,
> While I my palpitating heart will hold,
> And weep my loss of long-kept bird,
> Whose song awoke me at the earliest dawn.
> And now that bird has swooped
> And gone far, far away from me.

(16) Of course the poetic beauty of passion is not confined to the women; the love songs and laments of the men are full of longing regret for the past, and sorrow over the dead; they have their songs of the love of days long past, love songs that are also dirges of woe, dirges sung by the dying, and dirges of love sung just before death. And we can understand why they kept alive for so many centuries the memories of their birthland, Hawaiki, when we see their songs that mourn over the homes they have to leave or have left; there is the full germ of passionate patriotism in them. What can be more beautiful than the departure south of the Maori Napoleon, Te Rauparaha, with his relatives and tribe from their old home, Kawhia? As they reached the last hill that looked back on the ancestral hearth they

were leaving, they wailed aloud, and, weeping, sang a song of farewell:

> O, my own home! Ah me! I bid farewell to you,
> And still at distance bid farewell.

(17) But that which appeals most in the Maoris to our modern sense of humanity is the love they bore their children. Their lullabies are many and poetical; but it is naturally over the little ones that have gone that their poetry rises to its highest. They have many beautiful ancient dirges over the dead; but these as sung by the whole tribe over the warriors and the honoured have something official in them. It is the laments over the dead children that are so poignant in the intensity of their grief. Take this ancient dirge for example:

> O let my restless spirit
> Dream that thou, Riki, still art in the world,
> And I with thee can view the waves,
> That cover all the sea around the point,
> Where life was joy at my own home.
> But now alone, I am alone and desolate.

Even that fierce warrior Te Rauparaha has a most pathetic lament over his child.

There was no Need for Metrical Aids in the Old Poetry, which was never divorced from Music, and seldom from Dance

(18) And in their poetry the Maoris have a far keener sense of the beauty of the nature around them, the mountains and the forests, the sea and the stars, than any poets of the West, except those since the Renaissance. This is especially apparent in their laments and their songs of pathetic regret, and most in those that belong to more recent centuries.

There seems to have been a distinct development of their poetry in this direction. Even in their fiercer masculine poetry, the poetry of the passion for battle, and the sea-passion, there is recognition of the wilder and more violent aspects of nature. But the early voyagers saw them chiefly at play, or unstirred by their dominant passion; and they report the universal tendency to plaintive melody and song. And it is their laments that approach nearest to our modern idea of poetry. They never developed in the direction of the drama, as their kinsfolk in Eastern Polynesia did; nor in the direction of epic, as the Tongans did. Their narrative poetry was more like our old ballads, short, energetic pictures of a famous battle or deed.

(19) For it must never be forgotten with regard to their literature that it was never divorced, like ours, from music, and only the lament and the love song were ever divorced from dancing or gesture-action. This is the reason why rhythm, in our sense of the word as a regular syllabic or accentual foot or line, was never attained in Polynesia, whilst rhyme, that wholly modern embellishment of poetry, and open alliteration, its old Teutonic embellishment, are unknown. Even the Vedic poets, and probably the old Aryan peoples, when they came, had a fair idea of metre. The Maori poetry has nothing syllabic or accentual in the form, though the Hawaiian poetry tried to get accent on the last word of every line. It appeals wholly to the higher sense of music, like Walt Whitman's and Henley's; it has no fetters even in the length of the line; its chief beauty of form lies in a subtle alliteration or harmony of repeated sound, just as on its spiritual side it appeals to emotion and the emotional imagination. Never without music as its guiding spirit, and seldom without the aid of dance or gesture, it does not feel the need of those external attractions for the ear and eye, regular metre and rhyme.

Prose was Democratised, Poetry remained largely Aristocratic

(20) For instead of being the rare accomplishment of a few choice spirits, as it is and has been for long in the West, poetry was the universal atmosphere of Polynesian life, and especially of Maori life. Nothing was done without it, at least nothing that was aristocratic and did not belong to slaves or common men or common employments. Though their music and dancing degenerated into amusements, they still retained the marks of their religious birth, and poetical literature retained them too, whilst prose literature, the legend, the fable, and the proverb, early threw them off. All the life of the conquerors from South Asia was interlaced with their poetry, most of it ancient, much of it modern. And, though many of their gods and demigods and heroes, and many of their religious beliefs came in with the women of the conquered into their households and the early education of their children, the poetry was almost monopolised by them, and doubtless, as a whole, points back to South Asia as its birthland. It is in the prose legend that we may seek for relics of the conquered; they were early emancipated from the tutelage of religion, doubtless by the help of the conquered mothers of the immigrant conquerors' children; these would take care to fill the imaginations of the young with the stories of their own past.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN POLYNESIA AS SEEN IN HIS TRADITIONS AND RELICS

The Malayo-Polynesian Fallacy fixed the Genesis of Human Occupation of Polynesia in the Thirteenth Century

(1) It used to be the universal opinion of Maori scholars that the first appearance of man in New Zealand was the arrival of the six canoes, the only epoch recognised in native tradition. And the genealogies seem to fix this in the fourteenth century. But there cropped up sundry stories and legends of canoes that had arrived long before this "Norman Conquest" of the Maoris, and others of peoples that had lived in the country even before the arrival of these earlier migrations. These aboriginals came to be identified with the Morioris, who migrated to the Chatham Islands from New Zealand some time before the fourteenth century.

(2) But this still left the antiquity of man in the tropical islands untouched. Wallace, in his "Malay Archipelago," brought out the close relationships of the Polynesian dialects and those of Indonesia and came to the rash conclusion that the peoples who spoke them were of the same race, which he named the Malayo-Polynesian. And his great scientific reputation has kept the fallacy alive for half a century. The most recent authoritative books on the Pacific still assume it to be a correct and scientific term. Now the Malays did

not spread as an empire of navigators till about the thirteenth century. And the name Malayo-Polynesian implied that it was the Malays that, sailing forth from the Straits of Malacca, mastered Indonesia and then peopled Polynesia. It was thus tacitly assumed that this last region was not peopled till the thirteenth century.

(3) Even the early voyagers of the eighteenth century felt that the races were utterly different, and report from Polynesia tall forms, handsome faces, and often fair European-like complexions, with occasional negroid traces like the flattened nostrils; whilst a few, like Crozet, in speaking of the New Zealanders, report three types, one dark and negroid, another yellowish, and a third as European in features as their own sailors. A hesitancy arose about the identity of the Malays and Polynesians from like observations that showed distinct mixture of race. It was then assumed that a negroid population had held Polynesia before the arrival of the Malays. And the fair element was left unexplained.

The Evidence of the Genealogies takes the Genesis of Man in the Region back to the beginning of our Era

(4) Then came a fuller knowledge of Polynesian traditions and genealogies, concentrated and interpreted by Mr. Percy Smith in his "Hawaiki." By the aid of some ancient genealogies from New Zealand, and from the Cook Islands, he takes the history of Polynesia back to the beginning of our era, holding that in the second or third century of it the ancestors of the Polynesians moved on from Indonesia into the Pacific. But even this date leaves scant time for the peopling of the various groups away to the east; for the Easter Islanders have a genealogy of their kings right from Hotu Matua, the leader of the Polynesian colony into their island,

down to Maorata, who was carried away by the Peruvians in 1864. In this there are 57 names or generations; and if we assume, as Mr. Smith reasonably does, twenty-five years as the average length of the generation, it works out 1425 years, a period that lands us in the middle of the fifth century of our era. And two centuries is too little to allow for the spread of the immigrants to the eastern groups, and such over-population of them as would lead to new expeditions into unknown regions.

(5) An even more striking discrepancy arises from the use of this genealogical method of chronology; when we take the generations of their ancestry given by the Marquesans, as reported by the Surveyor-General of Hawaii, there are 145, and this, calculated on the usual basis, takes us back 3,625 years. And an old Moriori priest and chief in the Chatham Islands capped this: he traced his own ancestry to Rangi and Papa, through 182 generations, and at the 157th this note interrupts the genealogy. "At this time came the three canoes from Hawaiki." That takes us back 4,550 years, the Polynesian immigration being placed a little over six centuries ago. Surely this is a heraldry long enough to satisfy the aristocratic birth-hunger of any family on earth. It is to be placed beside that Welsh genealogy, which Douglas Jerrold reports as having at its midpoint the note: "Here occurred the flood." It is on the whole safer to trust for our chronology to the less definite indications of the records of the earth than to this heraldic embroidery of the past, which is so apt to be guided by the vanity of family or race.

The development of the Art of War in New Zealand proves a large pre-Polynesian Population

(6) But there are first some *a priori* arguments for a greater antiquity for New Zealand man than the fourteenth

century that should alone be sufficient to shake the faith of those select few still loyal to the six canoes as the human genesis of the country. One of these has been already indicated in the chapter on the military art; it is the extraordinary development of the science and art of war, and especially of military engineering, the art of fortification and siege. The few hundreds that came in the six canoes left Polynesia in order to escape feuds and their results and were evidently bent on peace; for they brought the products of their islands to acclimatise in their new land, and clearly intended to devote themselves to agriculture. When they arrived they found unlimited space compared with the islets they had left, and tradition tells how they spread far and wide, so that they had plenty of elbow-room for centuries. Is it likely that they began at once in such wide and empty spaces a regular Donnybrook Fair? Yet this is what must have occurred, if we are to explain the Maori passion for war and development of the art of war. They did not fortify their villages so strongly for nothing, after having done nothing of the sort in the scantier spaces of their tropical islets. To have developed this new art in their new and wider land against no enemy but their own scanty numbers does not seem explicable on the ordinary principles of human nature. Reason tells us that such an evolution of self-defence implies a formidable and unscrupulous foe. The genius of a whole people, especially in primitive times, is not bent in one direction unless there is sheer necessity forcing it. And every tissue and thought of the Maori was turned to war. Nor is there any evidence that it was want of room during the four centuries before Europeans arrived; for there was no remigration, nor was there any movement towards monarchy, such as there was in Hawaii and other islands, till European weapons and ideals put it into the heads of men like Hongi and Rauparaha.

The Rapid Growth of Population proves the Same

(7) And in spite of the internecine warfare that prevailed we are asked to believe that these few hundred immigrants in the fourteenth century had so grown in numbers by the middle of the seventeenth century that Tasman found Cook Straits swarming with population in command of great fleets of double and single canoes. Even in a peaceful, primitive people the growth of numbers is very slow. It is only in industrial eras and centres that it becomes rapid. And in New Zealand there were no mammals and few small game, whilst the native fruits and foods were hard to get and prepare. Under such conditions it is difficult to believe in so great an increase in about a dozen generations.

The Land-hunger of the Maoris implies a Large Population to dispute their Possession of the Country

(8) Another argument against the six canoes finding an empty country to land in is the extraordinary persistency of the Maori passion for land. Hunger for land never appears unless there is too little of it to go round the population. It is seldom or never a feature of primitive culture. It was natural for the Polynesians to have it after they had been so long settled in their islets as to overcrowd them and to resort to infanticide and emigration. And it was natural, therefore, for the immigrants by the six canoes to claim, each for his family or clan, as far as he could see inland, as tradition tells. But that the passion should continue after they found that they had vast areas quite empty for every tribe is not in accordance with common sense. Nothing but a hard and long struggle with aborigines for its possession can explain the extraordinary importance always attached by the Maoris to land and its inheritance. Their accurate preservation of the

genealogies, and the purity of married life in contrast to the license before marriage, originate and have their basis in landed inheritance. Without any claimants for it but the new-comers themselves, in such wide territories landed properties would have fallen into the background, and these features of the life would have become subordinate.

Slavery and the Maori Horror of it prove a Large Aboriginal Population

(9) A fourth argument for the existence of a large aboriginal population in New Zealand before the Polynesians arrived is the place that slavery takes amongst the Maoris. The slave was a thing of naught, without ancestry or posterity, past or future, religion or status, rights to hand on to children or spirit to pass into the world beyond. The sacrifice of a slave was thought no more of than the killing of a pigeon. Hence the horror of slavery amongst the warrior or aristocratic class. Now such a development of the institution the Maori did not bring with him from Polynesia; the aborigines must have been absorbed in the islands at an early stage, and later they were too crowded to admit of slavery. It seems inconceivable that this horror of it could have sprung up in New Zealand, had the Polynesian had from the first none but his own kin to operate upon. And the fear of enslavement remained intense, in spite of the later mitigation of its conditions.

Legend tells the same Story

(10) Over and above these marks of the subjugation of a large aboriginal population by the immigrants from Polynesia, there are clear traces of it in Maori legend, which turns the primitive tribes encountered into ogres and wizards or into fairies, according as they were formidable or feeble enemies. The wonder-working imagination of the fireside story-teller

never fails to add some supernatural or appalling trait to the character of the enemy that has to be met on the mountain or in the forest amid the shades of twilight or in the darkness of night. North Island legend names a dozen or more of such aboriginal peoples, more or less supernaturalised by twilight fancy. Colenso, in his account of the Maoris written in 1868, seems to point in the following to a large pre-Polynesian population, as well as a wider spread of the Maoris: "In repeated travelling in the North Island from Cook Strait to Cape Maria Van Diemen during more than a quarter of a century, and that by bypaths long disused, through forests and over mountains and hilly ranges, the writer has been often astonished at the signs frequently met with of a very numerous ancient population, who once dwelt in places long since desolate and uninhabited—such as the number and extent of hill-forts." The forest and mountain folks were feared by the Maoris long after they had been absorbed or had died out. Even yet natives are said to fear "wild men" in the interior.

The Legends of Immigration into the South Island take us back Generations before our Era

(11) It is, however, in the South Island that we find clearest evidence of the succession of migrations and conquests. Its later season for the harvesting of the edible bulbs and fruits made it an easy prey to raids from the north. Te Rauparaha swooped down on the Ngaitahu early in the nineteenth century. They themselves had invaded from the north early in the seventeenth century, and defeated and driven south the Ngatimamoe, who had in their turn exterminated the Waitaha in the sixteenth century.

(12) These Waitaha, according to one tradition, had an eponymous founder, Waitaha, who, after coming in the Arawa

canoe and settling at Taupo, went south. This is, of course, but the effort of a defeated and feeble people to embroider their ancestral heraldry and connect with the "Norman Conquest" of the Maoris. The more reliable tradition is that they were descended from an immigrant called Rakaihaitu, who reached New Zealand in his canoe, the *Uruao*, forty-three generations ago, that is, in the end of the eighth century of our era; and this long period is essential to explain the description of tradition that "they covered the land like ants."

(13) According to the usual legend he wiped out his predecessors and began peopling the country afresh. But this is only the stereotyped product of racial vanity, which ignores the aboriginal elements that have been absorbed, or counts them non-existent. And we can see from fragments of tradition that the Waitaha had no easy task in subduing and absorbing Te Rapuwai, who held the land before. The three-mile-long stone-fortified pa at the Cust, in North Canterbury, the lines of which were still clearly made out by the early settlers, was not built against a foe easily exterminated. And a romantic story of one of their great heroes, Tutewaimate, from the Rakaia, penetrating into the cave of Moko, an aboriginal who had taken to brigandage in the Waipara, and being slain by the robber, throws a flood of light on the progress of the Waitaha conquest. The Rob Roys and Herewards of Te Rapuwai took to the caves and forests and lived on the traffic between those in the north and those in the south; there the remnants of the defeated, under bold leaders, stood their ground for generations, if not for centuries.

(14) And Te Rapuwai had gone through the same process with their predecessors. Under Rongoatua they had come over the sea and been hospitably entertained by the natives, who, delighted with the new food he had introduced, the kumara, sailed away over the sea to bring a cargo of it. But the old story repeats itself. These dwellers by the sea are

driven inland by the new-comers and take to the caves; they pounce on bands of the immigrants when isolated, and even seize their women; they know the forests and streams, and can ambush and circumvent the strangers with ease; hence they become cave-dwelling ogres, who can stride over the country with league-long steps, and swallow streams; they are Te Kahui Tipua, or the band of ogres.

(15) In the Maui legend we have mention of still earlier waves of prehistoric immigration. That culture hero, when he fished up New Zealand, gave it to the Kui to colonise; they were exterminated or absorbed by the Tutumaiao, who were in their turn treated likewise by the Turehu or fairies; this last folk, we have seen, are in all the traditions and annals of the Maoris represented as fair-haired, and, being absorbed by the new-comers, have originated the Urukehu, or red-haired families, or members of families. Whether they preceded the Kahui Tipua or were only contemporary with them as another pre-Polynesian alien people it is impossible to say, for the two legends do not dovetail. Of one thing we may be certain, that Polynesian immigrants came in the early centuries of our era; and another seems probable—namely, that pre-Polynesian aliens occupied the land for hundreds, if not thousands, of years before.

The Mounds of Human Refuse in New Zealand point back Thousands of Years

(16) When we turn to the relics of ancient habitation, we have first of all, as on the coasts of most countries in the world, great shell-mounds, or, as they were called, when first studied on the coasts of Denmark, kitchen-middens, the refuse heaps of men who lived on sea-trove thousands of years ago. In New Zealand they are not only numerous, but some of them extensive and high above the surrounding levels. Many

mounds or hills of considerable proportions are reported far inland, covered with trees of many centuries' growth. Of these some have been laid bare by cattle, whilst others have been sectioned by streams and rivers that have changed their course. But the majority are close to the coast. One of them at Shag Point, in Otago, was examined some years ago by Mr. Chapman (now Mr. Justice Chapman) and Mr. Hamilton (now director of the Colonial Museum, Wellington). And the latter reports that the layer above the bottom sand contained unbroken moa bones and dog bones, along with flints. The next layer that indicated human occupation had moa bones broken, evidently for their marrow. Above a third layer of sand came the final stratum, in which were many moas' necks, most with the skull attached. In these latter strata the implements encountered were more polished and neolithic. But a piece of greenstone was found in the lowest or most ancient layer.

(17) There is clear evidence here of intervalled occupation by people of different stages of culture, though all of them subsisting on the hunting of the moa, the most ancient on that of a feral dog likewise. Sir Julius von Haast, in his examination of an ancient encampment on the north bank of the River Rakaia, near its mouth, also found bones of dogs, but not a trace of any gnawing on any of the vast numbers of bones, whether avian, piscine, or mammalian; and this undoubtedly indicates that the dog was not domesticated, but hunted for its flesh. And in the legends of the band of ogres that preceded Te Rapuwai, the Polynesian immigrants of the early centuries of our era, the ogre of the Clutha Cave is represented as chasing the new-comers with a pack of ten two-headed dogs. Doubtless the hunted aboriginals, taking to the caves and forests, as "wild men," made friends with this wild and hunted denizen of the bush, thus taking the first step towards its domestication or

redomestication, just as the Australian aborigines half-tamed the dingo, and the two heads are the embroidery of the terrified imagination, like the giant stature and the league stride of the aboriginals at bay. This prehistoric feral dog was powerfully built, and of a size between the dingo and the fox, whilst its skull was shorter than it was broad. Now the edible dog of the Maori was domesticated, and left its traces on every bone about a pa. Crozet describes it as "a sort of domesticated fox, quite black or white, very low on the legs," "long body, full jaws, but more pointed than those of the fox." Its cry was the same as that of the fox, and not a bark. The distinction between the two types is quite clear.

(18) Another striking thing about these stratified remains of early man is the absence of human bones, an indication that cannibalism appeared in New Zealand after the disappearance of the moa and the feral dog, and cannot be attributed to the aboriginal or pre-Polynesian. It is in the period of Te Rapuwai, that is before the eighth century of our era, that legend places the extinction of the moa, and along with it is bracketed the destruction of the Otago and Canterbury forests by fire. The two events are doubtless closely connected, as we can see partly in the vast accumulation of the bones, and often complete skeletons, of all the various species of huge birds in the swamps and caves of Canterbury, and partly in the frequent heaps of gizzard pebbles found high up on the hillsides. The bush and its glades would form safe retreats for these gigantic birds from their avian and human enemies; when their cover vanished, the great raptorial birds of the heights, the bones of some of which have been found amongst those of their prey at Glenmark, would make short work of them on the open slopes of the mountains. The effect would be somewhat similar on their human enemies. Te Rapuwai, having suddenly to

change their food and their mode of life, would fall an easy prey to the new invaders, the Waitaha.

(19) We may assign the upper strata of the moa-hunting kitchen-middens to this pioneer of the Polynesians; in them the moa necks and heads are found. It is true that the whole of these mounds of debris are attributed to Te Rapuwai; but this probably only means that after that people the Waitaha abandoned them, and took to regular house-building and house-dwelling. The heads and necks were there, and not in the lower moa strata, probably because they would be needed as easily held outliers like the legs for carrying the carcases down to the beach; they doubtless mean that the prey had to be sought at longer distances. The unbroken bones of the lowest strata and the broken bones of the central strata indicate a reduction in the plentifulness of the game during the period of the latter, when the hunters had to go to the trouble of splitting the bones in order to add to their supplies. These mounds thus stratified imply many centuries, if not millenniums, in the formation, especially where they lie far inland; even if their position is not due to change of sea-level, the necessity of having to carry miles from the shore the products of the sea that are found in them would mean an enormously slower rate of increase of these shell-heaps than on the beach; and, though the palaeolithic and the neolithic implements are intermingled in all the stages of culture in New Zealand, the advance, in their polish, manifest in the mounds, implies long periods.

The finding of Stone Implements Dozens of Feet below the Surface also points back Thousands of Years

(20) A surer sign of great antiquity for the human occupation of New Zealand, and so of Polynesia, is the discovery of cooking ovens and stone implements far below the present

level of the soil. On the Manuherika plains a Maori oven was found some fourteen feet below the surface. The slow accumulation of alluvium, wind-blown soil and humus on such high plateaus forces us to place the age of this back into the thousands of years.

(21) But the most careful and scientific description of the find of a stone implement deep in the soil is that given by Sir Julius von Haast of a partially finished chert adze and its sandstone sharpener, found by a party of gold-miners in Bruce Bay, in the south of Westland, a few days before he arrived on the spot in the year 1868. They were lying on a floor of pebble-studded clay, and more than fourteen feet of strata of humus, sand and shingle had to be cut through before this was reached. Totara trees four feet in diameter had to be felled before the surface could be broken; there were also huge trunks that had lain prostrate for generations, and moss-grown moulds of others that had decayed centuries before. The place was 500 feet above high-water mark, with the usual three belts of driftwood sand without vegetation, rush-and-manuka-covered sand, and low scrub. It had clearly passed through these three stages, and its foot of humus must have taken many generations, if not centuries, of herbage to form before the forest giants could root themselves in it. The various accumulations and the ancient growth of the forest belt take us back undoubtedly several thousand years, and even then we have a neolithic race that polished its weapons and had spread so far west and south towards the long uninhabited sounds.

(22) Thus traditions, genealogies, and relics all point to human occupation long anterior to the arrival of the six canoes, if not to a time thousands of years before the beginning of our era. And New Zealand is the only corner of Polynesia that has had its surface stirred by active European colonisation. The other groups have had no

cuttings for railways or roads, the usual road of the modern sort being only on the margin of the sea round each island. Nor has mining of any sort disturbed their quaternary deposits. New Zealand, therefore, is the only part that has supplied us with relics of ancient human occupation as yet.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN POLYNESIA AS SEEN IN HIS CULTURE

No Immigration from the South of Asia since the Beginning of the Iron Age, None from the East of the Continent since the Beginning of the Copper Age

(1) By the aid of indications in Maori legends, and in the remains of ancient man in the refuse mounds and alluvial drifts of New Zealand, we have been able to trace human occupancy of Polynesia back several thousand years. But there are indications of far greater antiquity in the strange medley that makes up Polynesian culture. In some of its arts, and especially in its art, it treads on the heels of the earlier civilised races. In some directions it seems as if it only needed a step to be within the pale of civilisation.

(2) Here, in fact, we have evidences of an immigration in comparatively late times, from some one or other of the semi-cultivated countries of Asia. The absence of iron in any shape or form from the whole region fixes the date of this migration from Southern Asia as not later than the beginning of our era. For then began the iron age in Indonesia. The absence of all other metals might lead us to put back the closure of the Pacific to immigration still further, till, in fact, the beginning of the bronze or even the copper age. But there was no bronze or copper age in Indonesia. There was,

as in trans-Saharan Africa, a sudden transition from stone to iron.

(3) But the other route by which Asiatic peoples might have migrated into Polynesia, that by way of the Japanese, Ladrone, and Caroline Islands, must have been closed since the beginning of the copper age on the east coast of Asia, and that was not later than the third millennium before our era. This is confirmed by the absence of the epidemics of crowded districts. Had the east coast of Asia been as congested with population before immigration ceased thence into the Pacific as it has been for the last three or four thousand years, the immigrants would have carried with them the epidemic diseases of the Chinese and Japanese coasts, diseases that arise as soon as the soil becomes impregnated with the bacteria that flourish on the debris of vast masses of humanity.

The Culture of Polynesia points back to Palaeolithic Times

(4) But there are elements in the culture of Polynesia that indicate a much greater antiquity of human occupation than the beginning of the copper age. We need not rely merely on the mixture of palaeolithic with neolithic stone culture. Rough chipped flints have been used not only in New Zealand, but all over Polynesia, for many ages alongside of highly polished weapons. But this is not peculiar to the region. These flakes of flint, chert, and obsidian were as effective in their cutting edge as the most finely ground greenstone; and they could be manufactured by a single skilful blow, whilst the polished weapon took months and sometimes years of labour. They continued to be made and used therefore till late in neolithic times, if not into the copper and bronze ages. The use of these palaeolithic implements alone is no proof then of the greater antiquity of the stone culture of a region.

(5) There are, however, arts and industries that point back to the earliest palaeolithic times, which in Europe are separated from our times by from fifty to a hundred and fifty thousand years, as evidenced by the flint flakes found in the Somme valley and other parts of the West. One of the special marks of that time and stage of culture is the complete absence of pottery. No fragment of it has ever been found in the deposits that contain the traces of palaeolithic man.

The Absence of Pottery and the Bow Proves that there was no Negroid Substratum

(6) Now, one of the most striking features of the culture of Polynesia is the same palaeolithic absence of pottery. Tonga is the only exception, and its proximity to Fiji gives the reason, for Melanesia has it as a primitive art; so, too, has Papuasia, except a few Polynesian colonies on the north-east coast of New Guinea, and in these the Polynesian character of the culture is confirmed by the absence of the bow, a weapon that is not distinctive of Indonesia, but spreads down from the eastern islands of the Philippines, through Ceram, New Guinea, and the Melanesian groups.

(7) The absence of pottery and the bow from Polynesia makes it quite certain that the Melanesian and Papuan substratum of population commonly assumed in that region is a fiction. The absence of pottery is most decisive, for it is a household industry, and managed by the women in all primitive peoples; and even if the men were subdued, the women would have been taken into the households of the new-comers and been allowed to conserve their old arts. The bow might have been suppressed in war, as the despised weapon of the conquered; but pottery would still have been used. The negroid features that appear in some Polynesians came in with the last immigrants or aristocracy. The women

of the islands try to flatten out the nostrils of their children from infancy.

From no Pacific Region could a Potteryless People have come since Palaeolithic Times

(8) But the farthest-reaching deduction from this absence of pottery is to come. It is that immigrants came into Polynesia in palaeolithic times, for all round the Pacific, on both the Asiatic and the American coast, pottery has been made from time immemorial; and so it is in all the island world from the Malay peninsula, south-east, to the New Hebrides and Fiji. The Australians have not got the art; but Melanesia and Papuasia have it, except for one or two Polynesian colonies. Thus, Polynesia is completely surrounded with pottery-making peoples, and there is no country in all Southern or Eastern Asia from which any potteryless people could have come since palaeolithic times. The conclusion is inevitable that the fundamental and primitive population of the region, the people that came with their wives and families, entered it during the old stone age, nearly a hundred thousand years ago. It is generally admitted that the great development of man in neolithic times and the copper and bronze ages demands several tens of millenniums to explain it; for human development is slow in its earlier stages.

(9) Had the art belonged to men as well as to women in primitive times, or had the later migrations into Polynesia been true migrations of whole households, this potteryless state would not have lasted. It is the masculine arts that have so marvellously progressed in the region. It is the household arts that belong to the palaeolithic stage. Nor is it the want of clay; for even Crozet, in 1771, noticed that there was very good potter's clay in New Zealand. His

master-gunner "rigged up a potter's reel, on which, in the presence of the savages, he made several vessels, porringers, and plates, and even baked them under the very eyes of the savages." He gave the articles to the natives; but, he adds, "I doubt whether they will profit by such an industry as this, which would afford them a thousand conveniences." Nothing could show more clearly that they had never known the art than the fact that it took no root in New Zealand; a great contrast to the use of iron, which was at once appreciated and eagerly seized on. Had the women that came with any immigration ever known the art, it would never have died out, its uses are so patent, and the need of them so pressing. In no way can we evade the conclusion that the later immigrants into Polynesia did not bring their women; were, in fact, only male adventurers, if not pirates. And some of the last of them must have settled on the way in a community with a large strain of negroid blood in it; else the Polynesians would never have looked upon flattened nostrils as the fashionable or aristocratic shape of the central feature of the face. Nor can we resist the obvious inference that the only large influx of women into Polynesia was in the old stone age, before man on the Asiatic coasts had attained the art of making pottery.

The Lack of a Spindle points the Same Way

(10) Another Polynesian art that is in the palaeolithic stage is the textile, as has been shown. It is one of the few regions of the world in which the art has not reached as far as the use of a spindle in making the threads for the cloth, the coast of British Columbia being another. In both these regions the thread is made by rolling the fibres with the hand on the thigh. All other neolithic peoples have or have had a spindle with a stone or pottery whorl to do the

twisting. We cannot imagine a people so intelligent as the Polynesians or the British Columbians abandoning its economy of time and trouble and going back to the primitive method. As far as the textile art remained household art it retained its palaeolithic atmosphere. Where it was connected with net-making or navigation it was masculine and sacred. And yet even here the spindle was not used for rolling the fibres; the simple primeval or natural method of hand and thigh was retained. The later immigrants must have left these arts at first to the conquered men, and, when their sons came to resume it, they accepted the primitive methods with it.

The Fire-plough Must have entered Polynesia Before the Patriarchate was developed by the Caucasians

(11) A third art that is on the borders of the palaeolithic, if not actually confined to it, is that of the stick-and-groove method of producing fire, also a household art. But here it is the man that does the work; the woman has only to stand and keep the horizontal piece of wood firm on the ground with her foot, whilst the groove is being rubbed into it. It is clearly a relic of a different constitution of the household from that which obtained in Polynesia; the woman has the attitude of master, the man is the worker and subordinate, although father-right or masculine predominance was almost universal throughout the region. Now, though mother-right has remained the principle of the household in all the regions adjoining, they have advanced to the fire-drill, in which the woman has no part.

(12) Clearly the women of the conquered in entering the households of the conquerors made effort to retain some relic of their primeval mastery within the house. And if

as facts seem to indicate, they came from the north, they must have come into the isolated island-world in very early times, before the matriarchate had passed into the patriarchate amongst Caucasian peoples. Polynesia is one of the domains of father-right, though hedged in by regions on both sides of the Pacific that are more or less dominated by mother-right or inheritance through the mother. The expeditions, chiefly of men, that sailed later from the Japanese Archipelago and from India and Indonesia into the islands of the Pacific, substituted the patriarchate for the matriarchate, just as they must also have introduced not only neolithic culture, but that section of neolithic culture which, because of its ability to quarry, transport, and erect enormous blocks of stone, should be specialised as megalithic. In the earlier chapters we found reason to think that this latter section came from the north-east coast of Asia, and not from its southern coast, on account of the megalithic track being continuous from the continent only through the Japanese, Ladrone, and Caroline Islands.

Much of the Food Supply and the Agriculture points back to the Old Stone Age as the Time of the Migrations that included Women

(13) But the Polynesian arts of the household and arts in which women take part are all palaeolithic. The oldest staples of food in New Zealand are palaeolithic: fern root, raupo root, and pollen, cabbage-tree root and shoot, fern-tree frond and pith, the wild fruits, lizards, larvae, and beetles belong to the omnivorous stage of the development of man in the old stone age; they formed the sustenance that was needed to vary the products of hunting and fishing and the eating of shell-fish. Palaeolithic man was not an agriculturist; he took what Nature offered him. It was neolithic

man that learned to improve on Nature by giving special soil and special culture to her roots, fruits, and seeds, and later neolithic man that learned to domesticate the animals, and to use their flesh and hides, or their milk or their labour. The absence of the cereals from the whole of Polynesia, temperate, sub-tropical, and tropical, might be due to the new environment being unfavourable to their cultivation. It is more likely to be due to the great basis of the population of Polynesia having entered it in palaeolithic times, when man never thought of carrying seeds with him to new districts to sow, and the comparative absence of domestic animals is probably due to the same cause.

(14) The domestic fowl evidently came in with one of the later migrations of men from Indonesia, a migration that went straight through to further or eastern Polynesia; for it was, as far as we can judge, from the east of the region that it radiated out, and there it is sacred and under the guardianship of the men. The pig must have gone with the same expedition, for it seems as if it was only in comparatively recent times that it was imported into Samoa and the western groups, and its flesh was always reserved for the chiefs; women were not allowed to eat it. The dog was probably an earlier introduction before the western groups had been mastered and filled by the South Asiatic expeditions; for it seems to have spread out into other groups from them. And it was the most sacred of all the animals, as far as the use of its flesh and skin was concerned; it was not for women; and, when dead, its spirit went to Po or the under-world, like those of men, but by a different route; now, as the route to the spirit-world is often an indication of the birthland, this seems to point to the dog as having come a direction different from the final immigration of aristocrats. The dog was the only domestic animal that came to New Zealand with the six canoes, and it evidently

took the place of the wild animal that had been an accidental introduction, and had been exterminated. The monopoly of the flesh by the men shows, as so many other evidences do, that the earliest strata of population were palaeolithic, and that the latter expeditions or neolithic expeditions consisted only of men.

Clearly there was a Primitive Route from Japan, with Islands separated only by Narrow Straits

(15) And now we are faced with a serious difficulty. How could man have found his way into these far-separated groups in palaeolithic times, when there could have been no oceanic navigation? Either the old stone age people that reached the coasts of Asia acquired the art of digging out tree trunks into huge ocean-going canoes or the land that stretched either from the south of Asia or the north-east of Asia was not so incontinuous as it is now. We must choose the one or the other to explain the palaeolithic culture of Polynesia. The latter alternative is the least improbable, for there are two belts stretching from the east coast of that continent that are still subject to movement, one rising, the other subsiding. The rising or volcanic belt strikes from Indonesia through New Guinea, the Solomons, the New Hebrides, and Fiji. The other, the subsiding belt, runs from the coast of Japan south-east through the Bonin group and all the main Micronesian and Polynesian groups down almost to Easter Island. It is marked by vast numbers of atolls and coral islets, which practically buoy or mark submerged mountain peaks. On either side of it are the deeps that were primeval oceans. The belt of elevation would not be that by which the people of the old stone age found their way into Polynesia; for we may assume that its land was in their time less continuous than it is even now, and if

there had been only such narrow straits between the piers of the bridge as would not stop their frail canoes, neither would the alligator and other land-animals of New Guinea and Indonesia that either frequent the water or can swim have been stopped.

(16) We may conclude that the Japan-Micronesia route was that which palaeolithic man took into the island-world of the Pacific, as it was that which megalithic man afterwards took. But that this land-bridge was incontinuous since ever the mammals appeared we may accept as a fact; else the mammals of the north temperate zone, if not those of the sub-Arctic zone, would have found their way into the Pacific, and, even if they had failed to persist, their remains would have been found.

Neolithic Immigration came in Ocean-going Canoes and without Women

(17) As the land sank, and hundreds of miles of rough ocean lay between the islands that mark its old line, the peoples that had reached Polynesia would remain isolated till great ocean-going canoes began to be made; and then only men would join these adventurous oceanic expeditions. For the track of the old stone age immigrants would be forgotten in the intervening millenniums, and oceanic navigation would have to feel its way into the unknown, which was sure to be full of terrors. Hence Polynesia is the home of primeval culture as far as household arts and women's arts are concerned, just as Australia by its long isolation as a continent is a museum of animal antiquities. The route that that culture took is indicated by its appearance in Micronesia as well.

(18) And as soon as the peoples of the new stone age had mastered oceanic navigation, it was this route again

that they first took. For the large single dugout that preceded the double canoe and the South Asiatic outrigger in Polynesia came from the North Pacific. There are no outriggers or double canoes in this great ocean north of Micronesia, and it is the huge single dugout that is characteristic of the British Columbian coast.

(19) Of these neolithic migrations one at least consisted of men who were capable of cutting, hauling, and erecting immense blocks of stone, a primitive engineering art that, on account of its difficulty and its need of exceptional skill, could not well have been a mere stage of evolution of all advancing neolithic races, and could not well have belonged to more than one division of mankind. And, to judge by the enormous number of megalithic monuments, and by the traces of the fair European-like people wherever they appear, around the Mediterranean and on the Atlantic coast, we have no hesitation in deciding that this was the Caucasian, whose birthland was the Mediterranean region. A second neolithic people, if it is not to be identified with the megalithic, must have brought, by the same route, the extraordinary artistic taste that is manifested in Maori carving and design. And all of these migrations of the new stone age must have brought with them advances in most of the arts, but only as far as men's work was concerned. But from South Asia must have come most, if not all, of the bulb-culture that distinguishes Polynesian food-raising, and the culture of the bread-fruit, the sugar-cane, and the cocoa-nut. That, in spite of the addition of this most important department to the agriculture of Polynesia, it remained in its methods and implements early neolithic, and in its use of fern and tree roots and fronds early palaeolithic, confirms the many indications that the region was peopled chiefly in palaeolithic and the earliest neolithic times; in other words from fifty to a hundred and fifty millenniums before our time.

(20) All the migrations after the palaeolithic must have been in ocean-going canoes, and consisted chiefly, if not solely, of men; hence only men's arts show advance from palaeolithic to neolithic, and from early neolithic to late neolithic—house-building, canoe-building, carving, net-making, and the military art. The women and the household arts remained as they had come into the region a hundred thousand years ago, more or less. Had the women come with the various expeditions of later adventurers and conquerors, the culture of the continental peoples they had left would have entered with them. The comparative absence of advance in household arts proves absence of external influence and competition. The fire-drill, pottery, spinning, would all have been long established in Polynesia, had the neolithic immigrants, either from the north-east or the south of Asia, brought their women with them.

(21) It is more than probable that, though Polynesia was peopled in palaeolithic times, New Zealand was not so, for it does not lie in the great central subsidence belt; it lies rather at the extreme end of the outer or volcanic belt that runs through the New Hebrides and New Caledonia, but at a very long distance from these groups, and it lies at as great a distance from the most southerly of the Polynesian belt. This intervening oceanic space has probably not been materially less for geological ages, possibly since the evolution of the mammals. It would be only oceanic navigators that could reach that *ultima thule*. Hence, we may infer that man did not touch its shores till neolithic times, and till that period of them when great, long-voyaging canoes were built. It will be useless, therefore, to search for traces here of palaeolithic man, except such as have been brought with them by the neolithic immigrants from Polynesia.

CHAPTER XX

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION

The Primary Problems of Polynesia are Three

(1) Three problems have confronted observers and theorists concerning Polynesia since the time of Cook. The first is the origin of the Europeanlike face and figure of so many of its inhabitants. Cook and the other Pacific voyagers were struck by it. And Crozet puts it very clearly in his account of the Maoris of the Bay of Islands:—"It is most certain that the whites are the aborigines. Their colour is, generally speaking, like that of the people of Southern Europe, and I saw several who had red hair." "There were some who were as white as our sailors, and we often saw on our ships a tall, young man, 5ft. 11in. high, who by his colour and features might easily have passed for a European."

(2) But most observers and theorists, arguing *a priori*, have thought that the darker were the aboriginals, and that there was a primitive negroid substratum in all the islands. As we have seen, this theory does not accord with the native admiration for a dark skin as an essential of beauty, or with the custom of flattening out the nose in Polynesian babies. The special features of the aborigines would be an object of scorn to the conquerors, instead of entering into the ideal of beauty. Crozet comes nearer the truth than any of the other voyagers or the later speculators.

(3) The second problem is the origin of the megalithic monuments that exist on so many of the islands. Most

speculative observers have noticed the resemblance of many of them to the teocallis or stepped pyramids of colossal stone that distinguish the great Pacific coast civilisations of America, and have come to the conclusion that the islands were peopled from that continent. The objection to the inference is that the characteristic foods of the American Pacific coasts, maize, the potato, the tomato, and the narcotics, tobacco and coca, were not brought into the islands of the Pacific till the times of the European voyagers.

(4) The third problem is the extraordinary resemblance between the culture of the natives of the British Columbian coast and that of the Polynesians. What stood in the way of seeing the significance of this was the American Indian face and figure of the British Columbians. An examination of the headforms revealed a mixture of the Mongoloid broad-head and the Caucasian long-head; and an occasional wash revealed a skin underneath the life-long layer of dirt often as fair as the European.

Put the Three Together, and they are Solved

(5) The solution of the problems presented itself the moment they were placed together instead of being taken each by itself, and it was brought to mind that the Mongoloid flood over the north-east Asiatic coast and over America came not only after palaeolithic man but after early neolithic man. The gradual lowering of the temperature on the Central Asian plateau scattered the hitherto isolated Mongoloids to the four winds of heaven; and a temporary elevation of the temperature of the North Pacific drew the northern horde farther north and east, and finally across Behring Straits into America. But the northern division of the Caucasians, bred as they were amid the advancing and receding snow and ice of Central and Northern Europe, had

found the lower temperature of Northern Asia no bar to their migration eastwards to the Pacific. Doubtless the retreat of the reindeer and the mammoth drew them onwards when still in the hunting or nomadic stage. And once on the shores of the new ocean, they resumed fishing and navigation, ready to take the plunge into the unknown, when their canoes had become large and trustworthy enough, and pressure had begun to be exerted from behind.

(6) The track of the neolithic Caucasian was waymarked for ever right from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, as soon as he gained sufficient engineering skill to cut, haul, and raise over his dead enormous blocks of stone, and to leave them either uncovered or mounded over. Nor did he cease to honour or to worship his dead in this fashion when he left the continental shores in canoes and ventured far over the ocean, until he came to lands abounding in lofty forests. There he found colossal timbers, easier to work than colossal stones with his stone implements. In the British Columbian archipelago and in New Zealand the stone habit gave way before the timber habit. But throughout Micronesia and Polynesia and along the Pacific coast of America he still clung to the habit of worshipping his ancestry and his gods by building pyramids of colossal stone.

(7) The other waymark this neolithic Caucasian left along his track was his own long head and wavy hair, and often fair complexion. And right from the Atlantic over the north centre of the continent till we reach the Pacific, and across that ocean into British Columbia and into Polynesia and New Zealand, is this to be found. It is of course more or less obscured, according as there have been more or fewer waves of alien peoples before or after him.

(8) In Polynesia there has been but slight obscuration; for no Mongoloid migration found its way thither. And the negroid element came into the region only in later times

and through the medium of the final Caucasian migration from South Asia. Hence, though there is, on the average, a darker skin than in Europe, and the negroid features, as coming in with the last conquerors or aristocracy, are artificially cultivated, all observers have been struck with the European appearance of the islanders; whilst anthropology has found their headform, though mixed, strongly inclining to the long, as in Europe.

The Language Question obstructed the Solution

(9) What made the problem more complicated and difficult of solution was the proximity of Southern Asia, and especially of Indonesia, and the affinity of the languages. Philology misled investigators of the racial problem. It made them believe first of all that the Malays had peopled Polynesia, in spite of the complete dissimilarity of the races in headform, features, stature, and culture. Then it kept the eyes of theorists wholly fixed in this direction.

(10) But we saw from an analysis of the language that it had no resemblance to an agglutinative or Turanian tongue, that it was the result of the collision of two or more inflectional languages like the Aryan, and that both traces of inflection and the meaning of a considerable proportion of the roots gave a strong presumption in favour of the tongues that had clashed being Aryan. But this sloughing of inflections had occurred in Indonesia before the South Asiatic migrants had left Polynesia. What did occur in the latter region was the encounter with a language of highly primitive simplicity, as far at least as the sounds were concerned. The sounds available were reduced from above a score in the Malay Archipelago to just above a dozen in Polynesia. It is the simplest and briefest of phonologies, a striking thing in so advanced a barbaric people.

How Early Palaeolithic Culture entered is the Fundamental Problem

(11) And this touches the most serious problem of all that confronts the observer and investigator in this region of the world. It is this: Why do we here encounter the strangest medley of culture to be found on the face of the earth? In analysing the industries, we saw that alongside arts that almost equal in their advance those of the most civilised of modern times, there are arts and practices that are primeval, and, in fact, palaeolithic. The Maori arts of fortification and siege are absolutely abreast of modern Europe; yet here is a people that is not so advanced as the Australians and Fuegians in fire-making, and not so advanced as the Melanesians and Papuans in the making of vessels out of clay. Their textile art showed great facility in the manipulation of both bark and fibre, and yet they had only the beginnings of a loom; nor had they reached a spindle in making the thread, an exception to all other primitive peoples. Why should this early palaeolithic culture belong to the same people as shows itself so modern in other phases? This is the fundamental problem of Polynesia, and no one can face satisfactorily its other problems who has not solved this.

(12) The solution attempted in this volume is based on an analysis of the culture into the women's and the men's. The palaeolithic elements belong to the household arts; most of the advanced culture belongs to the sphere of the men. Fire-making, spinning, and the art of pottery all belong to the women's department in primitive times. We may therefore infer that there has been unbroken continuity in the Polynesian household since early palaeolithic times, when the artificial production of fire by the rubbing together of two sticks had just been discovered, when there was no spindle

and no pottery. Now, the isolation of the region far out in the ocean makes it unique as an abode of man. As long as it was isleted, with vast distances between the islets themselves and between them and the mainland, none but far-voyaging canoes could reach it, and that meant only masculine expeditions, only masculine colonisation. A few hundred miles of sea were sure to daunt primitive woman from venturing her children and her household gods upon so dangerous an element; the thousands of miles between resting-places in Polynesia made such ventures impossible for them.

There must have been a more or less Incontinuous Land-bridge from the Coast of Asia

(13) Whence, then, could have come the women into it, unless there was at one time a fairly continuous land-bridge for them to cross from the continent? That could not have been in recent times. But the household culture of the region, being early palaeolithic, gives a hundred thousand years or more, and that should be sufficient to allow of very great changes in the distribution of the land in an area that is subject to comparatively violent and rapid upheavals and subsidences. Now, there is no area on the face of the earth so marked in this way as the western belt of the Pacific. There islands are reported as appearing and disappearing almost every year, their life-history sometimes running only a few months. But in this area there are zones of elevation and zones of subsidence. One of the latter stretches from the Japanese Archipelago south-eastwards through Micronesia and Polynesia, the peaks of its submerged mountains being buoyed by the coral insect. Down along this land-bridge in early palaeolithic times must have flocked a fair-complexioned wavy-haired, long-headed race, or, in other words, a Caucasian

race, with their households, only comparatively narrow seas and straits having to be crossed in their frail boats, probably built, like the Chatham Islands canoes and the Peruvian balsas, of reeds and other buoyant materials, with the water washing through them.

(14) This migration could not have taken place without some pressure from behind. In those early ages it could not well have been human compulsion so far north as this, for the waste and uninviting spaces of the world could not have been filled any more than they are now. The only conceivable pressure was that which in primeval times shepherded man northwards and southwards, and produced the highly migratory and adventurous division of mankind, the Caucasian race; and this was change of climate, the shifting of the boundary of the sub-Arctic zone farther south. So far north as the abutment of this broken land-bridge on the Asiatic continent, the ice-plough must have obliterated all temperate and subtropical vegetation and driven animals and their hunters, men, onwards to the south to find subsistence. And this will partly explain the comparative absence of affinity between the Asiatic plant-world and the Polynesian. The submersion of the piers of the land-bridge and the change from a volcanic or alluvial soil to a coralline were doubtless causes that worked in the same direction.

(15) When the ice-sheet began to recede, then sank slowly the bridge, pier after pier, till all ingress into the region became impossible without stout ocean-going canoes. And in Polynesia thereafter lived this Robinson Crusoe of a race, "cribb'd, cabin'd, and confined" within their islets, keeping alive their early palaeolithic culture for tens of thousands of years, uninfluenced by what happened in the rest of the world, unforced by alien pressure or competition, unaided by the new arts other people might be driven in the struggle for existence to find out. Not since there were formed the

three great divisions of mankind has there been such long and complete isolation, unless we count that of Australia.

New Migrations from the North began in Neolithic Times; but these were only Masculine

(16) At last, when oceanic navigation began to extend its range beyond the narrower seas, and great canoes began to be hollowed out of gigantic trees, the solitude was broken. Down along the line of the coral islets that buoyed the piers of the submerged bridge neolithic man ventured; canoe followed canoe from island to island; but only the masculine heart had courage to break into those spaces of the unknown, and canoe after canoe failed to return with its men to their old homes. Like the sailors of Ulysses, they preferred to settle in some lotus-islet of the tropics. Had the land been continuous enough, or the islands large enough, to breed a strong united, warlike race, these immigrants would have been driven off or absorbed with ease; but the islets were small, and could support but a scanty and feeble population, and with their palaeolithic weapons the men would be no match for these neolithic sailors. The new-comers would be masters and aristocrats, enslaving the men and taking the women over with their households. The masculine arts would be reformed according to the ideas of the new-comers; but the women would be left to follow their old ways in the household.

(17) For thousands of years must this process of masculine infiltration into Polynesia have gone on in neolithic times till, all the islands being full, the new viking strain would venture away to the south and the east, some into New Zealand, some into Rapa the small, some into Easter Island, and some doubtless as far as the American coasts. We have to explain the extensive stratification that is manifest in the culture. We can see that it is not development: there are so many irreconcilable elements and stages in the strata.

There are Strata on Strata of Culture

(18) It is not merely the combination of cannibalism with chivalrous generosity to an enemy, of coarse licence and polygamy with the romance of love and devotion to woman and strict chastity in married life, of human sacrifice with gentleness to slaves in the same tribe and individual. The burial customs are many and contradictory. In the constitution of society, the patriarchal system and the village communal, the socialistic and the feudal, the oligarchic and the monarchic, stand side by side. Whilst in religion there are combined in the same tribe and locality household worship and a powerful priesthood, open-air rites and a sacred building, imagelessness and fetichism, sorcery and a highly developed philosophic attitude to the gods and the powers of Nature.

(19) It would not be impossible to assign many of these inconsistent customs to the migrations from the north and others to those from the south of Asia; but, as some of them might well belong to both, it would be a task of some difficulty to analyse and classify them. For, as the language seems to indicate even before it left Indonesia, two inflective or Aryan languages have gone to the making of it, and after it reached the islands it encountered a language of most primitive phonology that had Aryan words or elements. Even in the mythology, it would be difficult to apportion its various elements to the northern and the southern routes; though the sun-myths and sun-worship point to the cold north, this tendency belongs to all Aryan mythologies of the temperate and subtropical zones. It is the legends of the spirit world that most definitely point to the northern route; some of their heroes and aristocratic spirits ascend into the circles of heaven, as amongst Aryan peoples of the south, but most go to the under-world, Po, or twilight and darkness. And there are some portions of the mythology

that are classifiable: the culture heroes have more affinity to the Northern Aryans; the cosmogony clearly comes from the region of the Vedic religion.

In the Arts the Oldest are the Women's, those Sacred to the Men are Newer

(20) In the sphere of the arts the task is easier. For there we have two powerful solvents to help us in distinguishing the older and northern migrations from the last and southern. One is that whatsoever is done by women is the older; the other is that whatsoever is confined to men, or sacred, came in with the conquering aristocracy. By help of these we can see that all household arts, inclusive of a large section of the textile art and steam-cooking, are ancient, and belong to the northern route, whilst much of the net-making and some of the dyeing came in with the last-comers. Canoe-building and the maritime art belonged to the aristocracy; but in New Zealand they took from the peoples of the northern migrations the art of making the huge single dugout and the art of canoe-carving, both of which undoubtedly belonged to the North Pacific. In fact, we have to assume an artistic people in Japan before the Japanese, before the Ainos, who, when not subdued and absorbed, were driven out of the northern archipelago, and took the arts of carving and designing south into Polynesia, and thence farther south into New Zealand, Easter Island, Pitcairn Island, and Rapa-iti. The same people also took with them the art of fortification, both in stone and earthwork. Theirs, too, were probably the half-underground dwellings, though either they or some other migrants from the north brought the art of building great timber houses ornamented with carved work. One of the northern migrations brought the aute, or paper-mulberry tree from

Japan, to cultivate in Polynesia for its bast, and may have brought some of the methods of agriculture too, probably the primitive method of avoidance of animal manure, and that of shifting from patch to patch and burning down the scrub or bush. But the culture of edible bulbs came from South Asia, and, in all probability, the edible dog, the pig, and the domestic fowl. And the healing art, as it finally existed in Polynesia, came with the last migrants from the same region.

The Last Immigrants from South Asia brought Negroid Blood and Cannibalism

(21) But these rested in Papuasia or Melanesia by the way, and married dark negroid women before they went on to the island world. But they did not rest long enough to take the bow as a weapon of war with them or to think of pottery as an art that should displace the calabash and the steam-oven of the Polynesian aboriginals. Some of them settled in these resting-places, and others afterwards led back Polynesian colonies to reinforce the settlers they had left. It is more than likely that they learned cannibalism in these resting-places, and took it with them as an intermittent habit into their final settlements. It was always sacred to the men, and usually to the aristocrats and warriors. The women as a rule were not allowed to touch human flesh. Only one or two contingents took the pig with them, the others indulging in cannibalism till that animal was introduced into their group. One or two seem to have missed taking the domestic fowl with them. But most of them took the dog. This and this alone will explain the choice of animals by the six canoes, when they came to New Zealand. Both the pig and the fowl had got into some of the groups long before that emigration, as we know from the language.

No Migration from the North after the Sixth Century before our Era, and None from the South after its Beginning—None from a People with an Alphabet

(22) And all this occurred before the beginning of our era, as the iron age commenced in Indonesia about that time. Had the immigrants seen any weapon made of the new metal, warlike as they were, they would not have failed to bring it with them. The complete absence of iron from the whole of Polynesia before the arrival of the first European voyagers makes it quite certain that there was no migration into that region after our era began. And the cause of the cessation was undoubtedly the new maritime power of the Malays, which preyed upon commerce and upon peaceful as well as adventurous expeditions. From the north migration ceased at an earlier period; for bronze weapons came in with the Japanese into the northern archipelago six or seven centuries before our era, and had migrants gone south after that they would have taken those with them. It was this very Japanese invasion that stopped emigration from their islands; the invaders were too busy for many centuries subduing the Ainos to attend to navigation or foreign ambitions. Not till their empire was consolidated, and they had surplus population, did their maritime enterprise extend beyond their own and the Chinese coastal seas.

(23) Nor did the immigrants by either route come from a people that had risen to the dignity of a script or written alphabet; for none came into the region except in the far east, into Eastern Island. And this bars any Semitic land as the origin of any immigration, for all the Semitic peoples in South Asia had reached that stage of culture thousands of years before our era.

The Methods adopted in the Book

(24) There still remain many interesting questions in connection with the peopling of Polynesia, including the problems of Easter Island and the relationships of Eastern Polynesia and the American coast. But they stand apart. The problems discussed have had special reference to Western Polynesia, and most of all to New Zealand, and their solution has been attempted with the one aim of eliciting the truth. The methods applied have been those of scientific research. The facts were classified, and hypothesis after hypothesis was tried till a good working hypothesis was found, that would explain them all. If a flaw become apparent in it through the discovery of other facts, that it did not cover, it was rejected or modified. It has happened frequently, however, that it helped to explain new facts and difficulties, and to solve unforeseen problems; and then it became practically a fact itself. If wider knowledge, combined with scientific method, can suggest truer working hypotheses, no one would be more ready to adopt them in place of his own than the writer of this book.

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Ponape (Carolines), i. 10, iv. 10.

Ponaturi, a sea-people that preceded the Maoris, iv. 20; had magic, and probably came from South Asia, x. 14; gave carving models, xiii. 19.

Population grew with wonderful rapidity in New Zealand.

Pottery in Carolines and Ladrones, iv. 8; absent from Polynesia, xii. 4; Maori statuette, xii. 5, 11, xv. 1; a racial element that knew pottery seems to be implied in the Polynesian myth of the making of man by Tane, xv. 11; had pottery existed in Polynesia it would have reacted on the designs of basketry, xv. 12; absence of pottery from Polynesia disproves negroid substratum, xix. 6, 7;

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Priestly families a necessity for the handing on of traditions, ix. 2.
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Puhi-kai-ariki, carved human figure in stern of war-canoe—seems to be blowing it on, xv. 3.
Punepa in Hawaii, i. 9.
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Ra or la, to love, Aryan and Polynesian root, viii. 26 ; so ra or la, to sound, viii. 27, 28.
Rafter-painting is free in design, though limited in colour ; revels in spiral and scroll ; oftenest takes cue from leaves and flowers ; conventionalises animals, xv. 13.
Rakaia encampment showed bones of dog and ungnawed bones, xviii. 17.
Rakaihaitu brought Waitaha to New Zealand in eighth century, xviii. 12.
Rangi, sun-god dethroned by newer sun-gods, xi. 1 ; the shining heaven, takes larger place in New Zealand mythology than in Polynesian, xi. 2 ; also called Raki, which means north, xi. 2 ; torn from Papa, xi. 23 ; giver of life and health, xi. 25 ; his legend very varied, xvii. 5.
Rapa-iti, i. 9, xiii. 11, xx. 20.
Rapuwai, a people in South Island of New Zealand subdued and absorbed by Waitaha in eighth century, xviii. 13 ; had come over sea and subdued Te Kahut Tipua long before, xviii. 14 ; during their period the moa became extinct, and the forests of Otago and Canterbury were burnt, xviii. 18 ; last to use shell-mounds, xviii. 19.
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Rata, in Maori legend, has canoe dug for him by the fairies, iv. 19 ; and attacks a sea-people, the Ponaturi, iv. 20.
Raukata-Uri, and Raukata-Mea, sisters of Maui, goddesses of music, dance, and games, xvi. 11.
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Rehuatamai, a lizard deity of aboriginals, xi. 32.
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Rigveda, xi. 10, 29.
Rock-paintings in New Zealand very crude; probably only signatures of travellers and pilgrims, xv. 13.
Rohe, wife of Maui, rules in Po, xi. 24.
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Rua, god of weaving-house in New Zealand, xiii. 6; ancestor of Maoris, learned mat-weaving from Hakuturi or wood-fairies, xiii. 6.
Ruaeo, a hero and not a god, xvii. 9.
Ruapupuke, in Maori legend, learns house carving from a sea-people, iv. 20.
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Tangiia, x. 17.
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Taniwha or chimera of coiled rope-work carved under deck of bow of canoe, xv. 3; often threatening carved human figures on barge-boards, especially of food-stores, xv. 6, 8; birdheaded chimeras meant to suggest supernatural, xv. 9.
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